THE New Republic

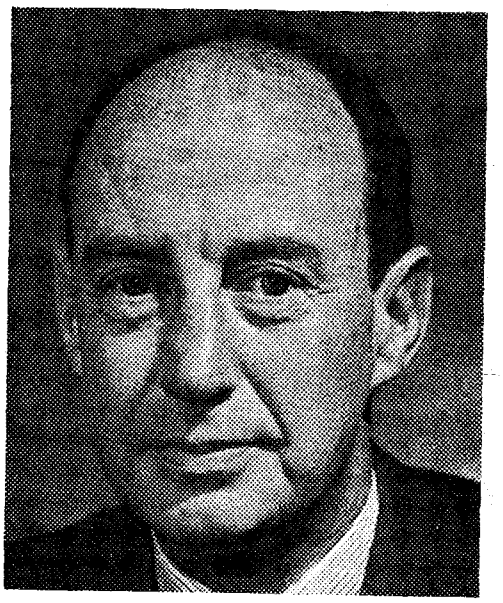
An Interview with Stevenson by Michael Straight

PAGE 10-11

STEVENSON SPEAKS

An assessment of his qualifications for the White House

His views on foreign policy, farm income, health and education



BERTRAND RUSSELL

The Mind of Robert Oppenheimer

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Washington Wire .... *T.R.B.*

Clark Mollenhoff of the *Des Moines Register and Tribune* shook his head the other day and observed, "I have asked Ike my last critical question." When asked to explain, he sighed. "You don't want to be the man whose question—well—ends the Eisenhower Administration, do you?" We had to agree we didn't as we thought it over.

The White House has now shifted to Gettysburg and everybody hopes the President's recovery will continue happily. He has the national affection of a constitutional monarch whose prime minister (for the time being anyway) is Sherman Adams. Ike requires that all questions be cleared with "Sherm" before they come to him. It is uncertain just how many newspapers Ike reads, if any, and he probably gets most of his information from brief staff summaries and by word of mouth.

If Ike returns to the White House for press conferences, it will be a matter of some concern how to put them. Under Truman—to whom most of the nation's press was hostile or contemptuous—the reporter's questions were often blunt and brutal. All that stopped under the Republicans. The Eisenhower conference was reorganized, wired for sound; the reporter's name appeared next day in the *New York Times* so his home town editor knew if he were being disagreeable, and he was simultaneously recorded and televised. Question periods were limited to half an hour. The latest conference, held August 4, was the 75th—which works out at only about one a fortnight. (FDR held them twice a week.) No modern President has been so sheltered by the reporters, by his own restrictions and their consent. This, of course, will be even more the case in days to come.

We have a great fondness for Ike, but we doubt whether he could have taken the press punishment which ordinary politicians habitually accept. We can only recall two really sharp attacks in the course of the 75 Eisenhower conferences, most of which we have attended. One came after Attorney General Brownell had called in five special columnists and tipped them off exclusively that Warren would be the next Chief Justice. The other came last March 30 when the nation was teetering on the verge of war over Quemoy-Matsu, and first Admiral Carney and then James Hagerty gave rival versions of the situation in "off-the-record" dinners. Francis Stephenson of the *New York News* angrily demanded of the President whether the point had been reached where it was necessary to invite one of the White House aides to dinner to get the news about peace or war? This was harsh enough in all truth, but a good many alarmed people felt the subject deserved it. Ike's response was to flush and freeze simultaneously. He responded with icy anger that he was not responsible for his aide's friends. Again, many noticed the President's alarmingly high color. Perhaps it is memory of events like this that caused 88 percent of the Washington correspondents questioned in a recent poll by columnist Peter Edson to say that they thought Eisenhower would not run again.

One of the most criticized features of the Taft-Hartley Act is a provision permitting a union representation election to be held in a plant during a strike in which the strike-breakers and scabs can vote but the strikers cannot. At such an election the majority can vote to throw out the union and de-certify it under the authority of the NLRB. This is perhaps the harshest feature of the law. During the 1952 Presidential campaign Candidate Eisenhower addressed the AFL convention and said, "I know the law might be used to break unions. That must be changed. America wants no law licensing union busting. And neither do I." The law has not, however, been changed. Under it an election at the striking Perfect Circle piston plant in Indiana has just gone against the union. (All the strike-breakers voted.) A pitched battle in this strike at New Castle, Indiana, resulted in eight persons being shot.

On November 8, Democrats ousted the GOP mayor of New Castle as part of their sweeping victories in normally Republican Indiana. A mixture of labor and of farm discontent appears to account for the result in the state. What we cannot see is why the Republicans have adopted a policy that looks like purposely goading and alienating organized labor even while they are desperately wooing another big segment of the voters, the farmers. If Ike disbelieves in a bad feature of the Taft-Hartley Act, why hasn't he carried out his pledge to repeal it?

We have never before seen a big political party apparently planning to win a national election through an attack on a substantial segment of the voters. It is true that after the Civil War the GOP waved the bloody flag successfully and elected a series of former generals. But this new effort is on a class, not regional, basis.

The affair started when Sen. Barry Goldwater (R, Ariz.), Chairman of the important GOP Senatorial Campaign Committee, charged a union "plot" at the campaign school conducted for the 48 GOP state chairmen. Now Senators George Bender (R, Ohio) and William Knowland (R, Cal.), the Minority Senate Leader, have taken it up. In addition GOP statisticians have come up with calculations that 14 labor groups spent about $2 million in the 1954 elections. This shows a "plot." The CIO promptly replies that part of this money went to Republican candidates, and that the GOP itself spent $7.2 million in the same campaign, including big contributions from the Rockefeller, DuPont and Pew families, and Texas oil men. Actually, of course, American labor has always heretofore been politically divided. The Teamsters' Union leader, Dave Beck, has just confided, for example, that he voted for Dewey and again for Eisenhower. Millions of trade unionists backed Ike in 1952. Why should the GOP leaders now go out deliberately to alienate them? There certainly was no encouragement on November 8 for this GOP anti-union attack. We can only speculate that it is part of the strategy of the right-wing, Old Guard forces, and it makes us more than ever curious whether the Eisenhower wing can hold its control if Ike doesn't run.

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BEHIND THE HEADLINES

The Power of Voters Who Pick and Choose

FOR THE grand election of 1956, the little elections of 1955 provide a triple commentary on current political behavior:

The drift is toward the Democratic Party;

A high percentage of the voters are mavericks: they pick and choose and are skillful in the baffling art of splitting ballots.

Stature is not transferable; no President or former President or Governor can elect a candidate by a pat on the back or even a campaign speech.

The drift toward the Democratic Party was most evident in Indiana. Before the election, Republicans controlled 70 cities and towns in Indiana; the Democrats, 33. Now the Democrats control 72; the Republicans, 31. Although Mid-West farm difficulties probably swelled Democratic pluralities in the Hoosier State, it must be noted that Democrats made their greatest gains in strictly urban areas, winning 17 out of the 20 largest cities.

In the Eastern states the trend toward the Democratic Party was not as pronounced as in Indiana and yet the direction is clear. In New Jersey, the Democratic Party picked up three more seats in the state Senate, which meant carrying the counties of Salem, Essex and Camden. In Pennsylvania, the Democrats moved into five more city mayoralty offices and unseated seven Republican county judges. Republican State Chairman Miles Horst had to grant that in Philadelphia and Allegheny Counties, Democratic majorities "were not unexpected although the margin of victory was greater than expected." In the city of Philadelphia, Democrat Richardson Dilworth carried this one-time bastion of Republicanism against a reform Republican with unprecedented pluralities. The cities that the Democrats took from the Republicans are Allentown, Altoona, Oil City, Reading, Sharon, Williamsport and York, all sizeable. Governor Leader boasted with justified pride of Democratic victories "in districts where we have not elected Democratic officials since the Civil War." Even in cities where Democrats lost, as in Chester, the Democratic candidate polled the highest vote ever cast for his party.

In Connecticut, Democrats regained control of Norwalk and Waterbury while increasing their votes—both as winners and losers—clean across the state. In New Haven, Mayor Richard C. Lee, who lost in 1951 by two votes and who was elected in 1953 by 3,500 votes, carried the city this year by 20,000 votes. Lee is now a serious prospect for the 1956 Senatorial contest.

In New York State, the Democrats took eight cities from the Republicans and the Republicans took six cities from the Democrats. But the Democratic cities are about twice the size of the Republican cities and hence have lifted the heart of Democratic hopefuls for 1956. The narrow party advantage in New York, however, can hardly be called a major trend.

The readiness of the voter to go shopping among the parties for good buys was repeatedly asserted this year.

In Essex County, New Jersey, for example, the voters—about 200,000 turned out—elected a Democrat, Donal Fox, to the Senate with a majority of about 9,000. The same day, the same voters elected the full Republican slate to the state Assembly and gave the GOP county clerk a plurality of some 30,000. That means that about 40,000 voters—one out of five—in Essex County voted "independent." Such "independents" who voted for Fox and wanted to strengthen Governor Meyner's hand in Trenton were bitterly disappointed with the county-wide Democratic slate: "the rubbish the local machine expects the tide to carry in." The "rubbish" didn't come in!

In the same manner, in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, a former Republican Judge, Alfred L. Taxis, Jr., having been denied renomination by his own party, ran on the Democratic Party ticket. Two-thirds of the county's overwhelmingly Republican voters split the ticket to elect Judge Taxis against the "organization" Republican. The contest involved more than 123,000 votes cast.

Again, in Hartford, Connecticut, the Citizens' Charter Commission—a good government group—made six endorsements and saw five of them elected. In a Democratic sweep, it carried in Republicans, too. Mayor Cronin—Democrat and CCC—said: "This was a victory for the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. It was a defeat for certain Democratic leaders who were out knifing me in the election. . . . What has happened is a restoration to the Council of some independent thinking and action." John C. Clark, Jr.—Democrat and CCC—was the first Negro elected to the Council.

In New York State, both Republicans and Democrats must depend upon "outside" forces to carry the state. "Republicans . . . can no longer count on support in many upstate communities on the basis of party loyalty alone," noted Leo Egan in the *New York Times*. "A majority of the non-enrolled voters—those who do not belong to any party—appear to be more favorable to Democratic than Republican candidates." Democrats, adds Egan, "were forced to acknowledge an increasing reliance on Liberal Party endorsements." In New York City, where the absence of major contests turned the election into a mathematical tally of party affiliations, the Liberal Party rolled up a surprising total of some 120,000 votes: about 9 percent. The Empire State is, at present, in nobody's vest pocket. Future victory lies in reaching the "independents."

Finally, there are the evidences that no political gods can anoint the head of any candidates. Eisenhower blessed Longstreth in Philadelphia, yet Longstreth lost. Governor Leader backed Senate candidate Margie in Luzerne County to hold a narrow majority in

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the Pennsylvania Senate, but Margie lost. Governor Meyner backed the Democratic candidate for Senate in the Governor's very own bailiwick, yet the Democrat lost. "Governor Meyner had discovered," noted the *Newark Evening News*, "as others up to and including President Eisenhower have discovered, that where their names are missing from the ballot, their popularity at the polls is non-transferable." This fact, plus the probable absence of Ike's name on the ballot in 1956, is, we can be sure, the item one on the agenda of the grim conferences that are now taking place behind Republican closed doors.

Both Parties Reappraise the Vice-Presidency

A REVOLUTIONARY change is taking place in the thinking of some Democratic and Republican Party leaders on the kind of man they will nominate for Vice President in 1956. The candidate for Vice President, it is felt, should be fully qualified in his own right to be President; his convictions on public issues should be substantially the same as those of the top man on the ticket, thus ensuring continuity of the program in the event of the President's death.

This idea sounds innocent enough, but few Vice Presidents elected in the last 166 years could pass the test. In fact, if put into practice, this theory would represent as great a departure in selecting a Vice President as the passage of the 12th Amendment in 1804.

The Constitution originally provided that the runner-up in the voting for President should become Vice President, a system which would have given us Adlai Stevenson today instead of Richard M. Nixon. Three men were chosen as Vice President under this system in the early days when political parties were amorphous. John Adams was runner-up to Washington in 1788 and served under him as Vice President before becoming Chief Executive. Thomas Jefferson came to the Presidency in the same manner. It was the selection of Aaron Burr as Vice President in 1800 that revealed the potential conflict between rivals of opposite views, and led to the 12th Amendment which provides for selection of the Vice President by the Electoral College on a separate ballot from that for President.

This made possible a President and Vice President from the same political party, but it did not ensure a Vice President qualified to be President or even one whose views were harmonious with those of his chief. In practice, the reverse was the case as parties sought to balance election tickets with a Vice President who contrasted with the President in age, or geographical origin or political philosophy.

Adlai Stevenson's advisors, while pursuing party unity in the period 1952-54, were inclined to believe that the strongest Vice Presidential candidate would be Governor Frank G. Clement of Tennessee, a 35-year-old spellbinder, ex-GI, ex-FBI agent, and currently chairman of the Southern Governors Conference. His name was mentioned as keynoter for the 1956 convention.

That proposal is now out the window for two reasons. First, organized labor opposes Clement, claiming he double-crossed the Tennessee labor leaders who supported him for Governor. Second, Clement is vulnerable, it is reported, to criticism for receiving gifts from large business firms, a charge similar to that made against Vice President Nixon during the 1952 campaign.

The man Stevenson now prefers, his closest political associates report, must have extensive government experience, either legislative or executive. He must share Stevenson's views. And he must have both party and public support.

The two men most often mentioned as Stevenson's rivals—Governor Averell Harriman of New York and Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, both meet these qualifications in large part. So do a pair of young Democratic Governors, Robert Meyner of New Jersey and G. Mennen Williams of Michigan. So does Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, former mayor of Minneapolis and professor at the University of Minnesota.

Recently Democratic leaders in two key swing states, California and Pennsylvania, have pointed the finger at one of these men, suggesting that only he, in combination with Stevenson, could assure a local Democratic victory.

In late October, Attorney General "Pat" Brown of California, top elected Democrat in the state government, announced his support for a Stevenson-Kefauver ticket. This was followed by the declaration of Governor George M. Leader of Pennsylvania for Kefauver as Vice President with Stevenson. It can be stated on good authority that Governor Leader issued his announcement after conferring with his Secretary of State, James Finnegan, whom Stevenson has chosen for his campaign manager.

Early in November a private Stevenson-Kefauver conference was agreed upon. But the news of the rendezvous leaked to the press, and the meeting was called off. Now the two men will be together in Chicago for a Democratic rally on November 19, at which both will speak. These rallies are always the occasion for numerous private conversations in hotel rooms,

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Michael Straight, *Editor*
Gilbert A. Harrison, *Publisher*
Helen Fuller, *Managing Editor*

F. R. Ruskin, *Administrative Assistant*
Lucille Davis, *Copy Assistant*
Irvin Shapiro, *Design*

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Eric Bentley, *Theatre Critic*
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Volume 133, Number 21, Issue 2139

Washington Wire, by T.R.B. 2
Behind the Headlines 3
Stevenson Speaks
The Man and the Job 7
by Michael Straight
Mr. Stevenson Replies 10
It Seems to me . . .
Stevenson's Views on the Central Domestic and International Questions of the Day 17
Books and Comment 25
Theatre 30
Correspondence 31

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and the Stevenson-Kefauver strategy session is expected to take place there.

No deal is proposed. The idea of some Stevenson strategists is to suggest that Kefauver would be acceptable as Vice President, that the two men agree to abide by the Democratic Convention in the choice for President, and that they avoid attacking each other in the primaries. Kefauver would, of course, not withdraw as a Presidential candidate, for his showing in the Presidential primaries could be an important asset to a Stevenson-Kefauver ticket.

Kefauver is disliked by many Democratic professionals, including Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, House Speaker Sam Rayburn, and former President Truman. They complain he is brash, pushy, vain and a poor team worker. But those who back the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket believe the South would remain loyal, even for a ticket that included Kefauver.

Eisenhower strategists are going through a similar process of thinking, but within the framework of the President's illness. They say the President may be able to run in 1956, if only his load can be lightened and a Vice President is chosen who is fully qualified for the Presidency. Few Republicans who speak in this vein speak seriously. They use the President's name to maintain a political vacuum while they seek out the strongest candidates. Thus when Republican leaders speak of a possible Eisenhower-Warren ticket in 1956 they are in fact sounding out Warren for the No. 1 position, and are trying to decide upon the strongest running mate.

Warren's position has become increasingly clear. On the one hand, he is unquestionably reluctant to leave the Court, and has planted numerous denials with friends in order to discourage a draft by President Eisenhower. On the other hand, he has talked frankly to several recent visitors on the political outlook and has indicated to at least one visitor that he would not reject out of hand an appeal from President Eisenhower. Nor did he say he would accept. He just did not know. The door is ajar for a party that is bent on forcing its way in. And no other candidate will be considered by the Eisenhower wing of the party until Warren's candidacy has been fully explored.

For Vice President these Eisenhower strategists are applying virtually the same qualifications listed by Adlai Stevenson's headquarters. Several Republicans meet the test of ability, experience, and views which harmonize with Warren's. They include former Governor Dewey of New York, former Governor Harold Stassen of Minnesota, and present Massachusetts Governor Christian Herter.

Warren's nomination would automatically eliminate Nixon from the race, for under the 12th Amendment, it is unconstitutional to have both President and Vice President from the same state. It is conceivable, though not likely, that 1956 could produce a Republican ticket which is the reverse of 1948, that is, Warren-Dewey.

In order to attract Vice Presidential candidates of such caliber it will be necessary to alter drastically the functions of the Vice President's office, possibly including a Constitutional amendment to relieve the Vice President from presiding over the Senate.

One such proposal, recently discussed in the correspondence columns of the *New York Times,* would make the Vice President a chief of staff in the White House, operating as executive officer for the President in all executive and legislative programs. He would sit in an office adjoining the President's. The role resembles that now performed by Sherman Adams, ex-Governor of New Hampshire, and the qualifications also fit.

No Remedy in Law

"SURE it was a lynching, but it was not a federal civil rights case." That was the ironic comment of a distinguished constitutional lawyer on reading of the refusal of a Mississippi jury to convict a pair of white men for the kidnap-murder of a 14-year-old schoolboy.

"The only remedy to happenings like this," he added, "is the slow growth of tolerance and respect for law among Southern people." These views are shared by most constitutional lawyers in Washington today.

Emmet Till was the Chicago schoolboy who went to visit his uncle in Mississippi. He reportedly "wolf-whistled" at the white wife of a country storekeeper. The boy was abducted from his uncle's home by two white men, and his body, shot through the head and weighted down with a cotton gin fan, was pulled from the Tallahatchie River three days later. The storekeeper and his half-brother, both identified in court as the abductors, were exonerated by the all-white jury.

The inability of the federal government to enforce the constitutional rights of individuals has a long history. "Seldom if ever have the power and the purposes of legislation been rendered so impotent," Eugene Gressman observes in the *Michigan Law Review.*

Before 1865 the Constitution protected fundamental personal rights only against infringement by the federal government, but not against infringements by the states or by individuals.

During the first decade after the Civil War, 1866-1875, the nation enacted three constitutional amendments, and Congress wrote a series of civil rights laws designed to strike down the "black codes" in the South and protect individuals from actions by the states and by individuals. The courts sharply curtailed and virtually ended the federal use of these new powers by a series of decisions placing the narrowest possible interpretation upon federal jurisdiction. No subsequent Congress has tried to restore the needed authority. There is today no federal anti-lynching law.

A 1909 decision of the Supreme Court ruled specifically that federal civil rights laws could not be invoked against participants in a mob which seized a Negro from custody of a local sheriff and lynched him.

Mr. Gressman's appraisal of the situation concludes that "the legislative program of the post-Civil War days was premised on the belief that the fundamental rights of the individual should be defined and enforced by the federal government. But the Supreme Court has consistently refused to accept that premise. It has substituted its belief that civil rights lie within the realm of state power. . . . It is doubtful if much can be done by way of existing federal statutes to implement effectively the civil rights of individuals."

If the growth of tolerance is the only remedy for lynch law, there is some comfort in statistics. Before World War I, lynchings averaged 60 a year. Between World Wars I and II they averaged 12 a year. The lynching of Emmet Till in Mississippi last September was the first in at least four years.

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More Praises and Damns for the Court

THE COURT made news last week in two orders which, between them, apparently outlaw racial segregation in significant state or municipally owned recreational facilities. Specifically involved were (1) a judgment of a Federal Court of Appeals ordering desegregation of public swimming pools in Baltimore and of bathing beaches owned by the state of Maryland, although in each instance equal facilities for Negroes were provided; and (2) a judgment of a different Federal Court of Appeals ordering Atlanta, Georgia, to admit Negroes to its municipally owned golf courses on a separate-but-equal basis. Without opinion, the Supreme Court affirmed the first, and, in the second, ordered the lower court to conform its judgment to that of the Maryland case.

For these actions the Court will be praised and damned in about the same proportions and from the same quarters as for its public-school desegregation decisions of 1954. The similarity of public reaction should not, however, obscure the fact that a significant extension of those earlier decisions is here involved. The fundament of the Court's position in the public-school cases was the overwhelming importance of public-school education in American life today and the psychological impact of segregation on the quality of the educational experience. *The Chief Justice said:*

> Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. . . . It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his full environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may be reasonably expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. . . .

And he went on to approve the finding of the Kansas court that "Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system."

It seems pretty clear that neither of these points can be made about golf playing, or swimming—or indeed about public recreational facilities in general. The Court must, therefore, have moved to new ground in order to support its orders of last week. Unfortunately, since no opinion was written, it is impossible to judge what this new ground is or how far it reaches. And while the decision is welcome, there is again cause for dissatisfaction with the Court's disposition of major constitutional issues in silence.

The Court gave the silent treatment to another constitutional question last week, but in this instance it was acting well within its traditional mode. The Milwaukee Housing Authority, in response to the Gwinn Amendment to the Federal Housing Act, passed a regulation requiring tenants in federally assisted housing projects to swear that they were not members of any group on the Attorney-General's list of subversive organizations. The Wisconsin Supreme Court held that this regulation conflicted with the state and federal constitutional provisions protecting freedom of speech, and it invalidated the regulation. The Housing Authority asked the Supreme Court to review this decision, but the Court declined to hear the case.

In the great bulk of the cases coming before it, the Court has been given by law this discretion to refuse review without assigning any reasons for its refusal. In practice, the power is exercised for a variety of reasons, many of which may be unrelated to the Justices' views of the importance of the issues or of the correctness of the decision below.

In consequence, this refusal to hear the Wisconsin case, unlike the orders discussed above, has no effect other than to leave the decision below undisturbed. It cannot be taken as an expression of approval of that decision by the Supreme Court, nor, indeed, as an expression of any views on it. The Wisconsin court's decision, of course, is not binding, though it may be persuasive, upon courts in other states which may deal with the question; a judgment of the Supreme Court would have controlling force.

However, similar regulations of local housing authorities issued under the Gwinn Amendment are under attack in the courts of several states. One may suspect that before too long, the Court will find among the cases before it one which is to its liking as a vehicle for considering this question.

Cambridge, Mass. ABRAM J. CHAYES

Virginia's Answer

THE COMMONWEALTH of Virginia, which raised seven native sons to be President of the United States, has always been a place of political contrasts. In colonial days Virginia adopted a bill of rights which became the model for Amendments One through Ten of the Federal Constitution. Yet in this same period a Virginia justice of the peace, Charles Lynch (1736-1796), employed extra-legal methods of trial and punishment which gave the English language the term "lynch law" and "lynching." Now the Commonwealth of Virginia has published a state plan of action to defy the Supreme Court ruling on segregated schools which is more contemptuous of federal law than the action of any other Southern state.

After the Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, rendered its first opinion banning school segregation, Virginia Gov. Thomas Stanley appointed a 32-man commission to work out Virginia's answer. All the commissioners were white. Two-thirds were chosen from the small number of Virginia counties in which Negroes outnumbered the whites. Last week the Commission released its report which recommended to the Governor that:

(1) The Virginia compulsory public school requirement should be eliminated by constitutional amendment. (2) Local school boards should be empowered to assign pupils to schools on bases other than race, but in a manner to preserve segregation. (3) Tuition grants for private non-sectarian schooling should be given to students in any locality which abolishes public schools, or to any pupil who objects to attending an integrated school. (4) The teacher retirement system should be extended to cover certain private schools.

The Governor called the plans "excellent" and said he expected the necessary changes in the state constitution and laws to be completed in time for the 1956-57 school year. Some of the proposals appear to be unconstitutional, but redress will require years of individual suits.

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An assessment of Adlai E. Stevenson's qualifications for the Presidency

The Man and the Job

by Michael Straight

OF ALL the riddles that make up American politics, the greatest today is Adlai Stevenson. He is a cautious man with great appeal in the expansive West; a spokesman for civil rights whom the South accepts as a friend; a conservative among Democrats who is the first choice of the trade unionists; the favorite of professional politicians who dislikes the game of politics. Stevenson is complicated, aloof and physically unimposing; in no sense the traditional image of the successful politician. And yet he commands more loyalty and devotion than any man in our political life save one.

To these riddles there are, of course, answers. Westerners see Stevenson as a self-willed man, a respected figure in states notoriously free from party discipline. Southerners cast him in the Wilsonian tradition of the scholar in politics—one again which is their own. Trade unionists prefer to work with an established candidate rather than undergoing the expense, the labor and the risks of introducing a new man to the voters. As for the professional Democrats: "The time has passed," says James Finnegan, Secretary of State of Pennsylvania, "when a precinct captain could swing his precinct by favors, or the force of his own personality. The people look at television now; they vote for the face they trust."

And, with some reservations, they trust Adlai Stevenson. The lifelong Democrat, the independent whose numbers grow each year, the indifferent who voted for Ike because it was time for a change, lean to Stevenson today, believing that as he went down in defeat in 1952, he raised new standards of excellence and honesty in American politics.

Now once again Stevenson is a candidate for the Presidency. His nomination by the Democratic Party is probable. That party retains its appeal to the majority of voters, and Stevenson has risen in stature since he polled 27 million votes. The national hero, who polled 34 million votes to defeat him, is almost certainly not available for a second term. So the way to the White House seems open.

But the purpose of this assessment is not to speculate on whether Stevenson will be the 35th President of the United States. It is to ask whether Stevenson should be the 35th President, and to suggest tentative answers—they can only be tentative, when one attempts to visualize a highly complicated man in the world's most demanding role.

* * * *

The 35th President faces superhuman tasks. He must, as leader of the free nations, help to turn back advancing Communist influence in Asia and the Middle East which the Eisenhower Administration has failed to check. He must bring new vitality and purpose to our alliances with the West which, in the last three years, have fallen into sad repair. He must keep this nation ahead in the armaments race and yet, over the opposition of the military, carry to the Russians a realistic plan for disarmament which we and they could accept. He must maintain the forward momentum of the domestic economy and therefore keep the confidence of business. At the same time he cannot, as Eisenhower did, preserve a surface tranquillity by ignoring the mounting challenge of financial and industrial mergers, of falling farm income, of business domination of government, of neglect of schools, of roads, of slums and social services. The 35th President must provide more active *political* leadership than has been present under President Eisenhower, and yet, like Eisenhower, he must be the President of all the people, the guardian of national unity, the chief of state.

These are the tasks that some man must undertake. And no index of his schooling, no catalogue of the outward virtues he possesses, can measure his preparedness. John Adams was almost the equal of Thomas Jefferson in political philosophy, and in his contribution to the American revolution. He ended his term in the White House as sponsor of the Alien and Sedition Laws. James

In the preparation of this assessment, The New Republic's *editor, Michael Straight, conferred with leading Democrats in many states, including Adlai Stevenson of Illinois.*

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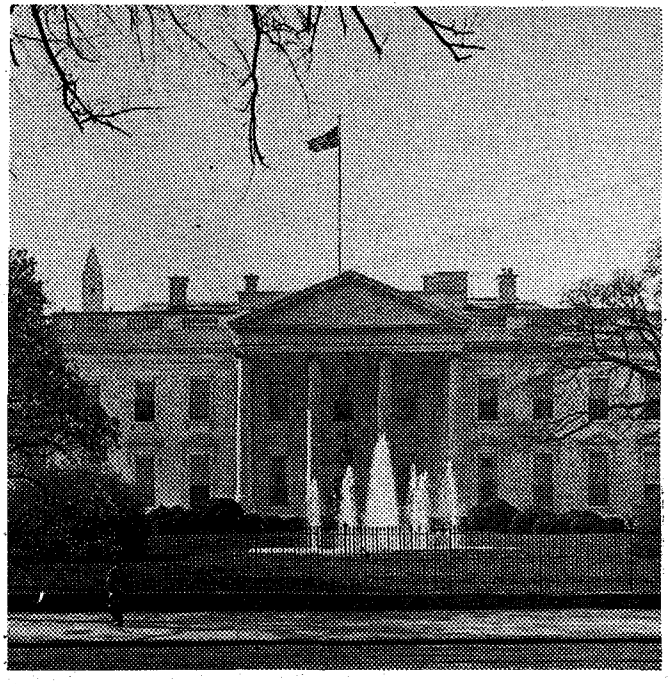
"The leader of the national march . . ."

Madison was supremely qualified for the Presidency by every test of experience. His term in office was also a disappointment. Herbert Hoover, who attacked hunger and misery in Europe so masterfully in 1918, presided over hunger and misery in America in 1932, the helpless prisoner of rigid and irrelevant economic beliefs. Woodrow Wilson, to whom some compare Adlai Stevenson, was a man of forceful intellect, of brilliant style, with a profound awareness of the Presidential role. He commanded respect and even veneration, but majority support he could not win. Democratic doctrine naturally makes Wilson the martyr and Henry Lodge the villain of the lost battle to bring the United States into the League of Nations. But Wilson, by refusing to accept even the mildest reservations, by insisting that "the Senate must take its medicine," by being as intransigent as the Irreconcilables, bears also a share of the blame. In contrast, Harry Truman, who failed as a haberdasher and went to the Senate as Boss Pendergast's man, discharged his great tasks greatly when death thrust the Presidency upon him. In other words, a man's inner qualities, which no stranger can know, are more important to the nation than the external credentials he bears with him as he enters the White House.

First among these inner qualities that the 35th President will need, is an unerring instinct for the national priorities. For the President is the leader of the national march; it is his task to prevent the nation from taking the wrong turning in pursuit of false or secondary objectives; to perceive, and to help the nation perceive, the central challenges imposed by history during his term.

Lincoln above all Presidents was endowed with this



gift. "What Lincoln possessed and others did not," writes Sidney Hyman in *The American President,* "was an artistic sensitivity to what the tension levels of the nation could support and what they demanded of the President." He adds:

> This faculty cannot be regulated. It cannot be taught . . . it is largely unconscious of itself, only partly conscious of the means it uses; but it is totally aware of the objects it seeks out. . . . The faculty is shown in the President's capacity to foretell the course of events; in the problems he chooses to bring to the center of national attention, the time when he does it, the degree of gravity he attaches to the problem, the sense of lassitude or urgency he creates when he defines alternative solutions to it. It is shown in the degree to which he is "a great asker and patient hearer of the truth about those things" into which he ought to inquire.

There are two demands here upon the man in the White House, and the first is that he possess the insight and the courage to set aside false objectives. This is the critically important difference between the politician and the President. The politician must possess the ability to mobilize mass pressures; the President must possess the further strength to resist the pressures that others mobilize. For the people's best interests may be at variance with the people's will, and then, as Alexander Hamilton said, "it is the duty of the person whom they have appointed to be the guardian of these interests to withstand the temporary delusion in order to give them time and opportunity for more cool and sedate reflection."

In this respect Dwight Eisenhower has been a weak President. He brought to the White House perhaps the largest fund of good will ever bestowed upon a President-elect. But he balked at the Presidential duty of expending some part of that fund in pressing for those parts of his own legislative program that fellow Republicans resisted. Further, he abandoned to private citizens the task of halting McCarthy's kind of lawlessness.

Stevenson in contrast is plainly able and determined to resist what he knows to be wrong. As Governor of Illinois, he recalls:

> I vetoed five of the nine bills passed by the Illinois legislature and included within the official legislative program of the Illinois Department of the American Legion. I vetoed special-interest bills of all kinds calling for more than $40 million of appropriations. And I was solemnly warned in every case that I would lose all of the votes of the groups affected.

The positive aspect of the instinct for priorities is the President's capacity to foretell the course of events, to select the key problem to bring to the nation's attention, and to keep it in the national consciousness.

In a curious way Dwight Eisenhower possessed this faculty. He brought no important economic and social ideas to the White House. He set in motion no great domestic advance. Yet he filled the half-hidden role demanded of him—to broaden the acceptance of 20

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years of New Deal and Fair Deal reforms; to permit tensions to subside. His sense of priorities pointed overseas —where he was immensely qualified by character, by personal experience and by the prestige he commanded to strive for peace. And this was what the voters, wearied of war, demanded of leadership. "I have ten reasons why we should elect Dwight Eisenhower as President," Paul Hoffman told a Women's National Press Club audience in 1952, "and the first is his capacity to win peace." The audience interrupted, crying, "Stop right there!"

Yet Eisenhower's gift was not a sensitivity to rapid change. In him, the lifelong characteristics of a rather inflexible man coincided with the passing needs of 1952. Adlai Stevenson, in contrast, is sensitive and flexible; more than Eisenhower he possesses that "capacity to foretell the course of events." Like Eisenhower he is weakest in searching out and clarifying economic relationships and trends (and this is a period in which the most acute and eloquent of men carry few prescriptions). His strength lies in his perception of two of the highest priorities—the relationship of the state and the individual and the part that this country is to play in the world.

Stevenson is bred and trained to cherish individual freedom. The right of the individual to privacy, which is the basis of political freedom, is more than a platform for Stevenson; it is a primary, personal necessity. It is part of his conservatism—the genuine conservatism which distinguishes between respect for tradition and a rigid attachment to things as they are.

"Think of Andrew Jackson—Harrison—Nashua."

"... *his attitudes ... set him apart ...*"

Stevenson is further bred to take for granted the world's interdependence, trained to look for ways of creating harmony between hostile nations. It was his revulsion against war that sent him back into public life to spend three years at the United Nations. His first undertaking after his 1952 defeat was to reacquaint himself with the world overseas. Many men may travel through 99 lands and because they ask the wrong questions and listen to the unimportant sounds bring back not one truth. The passages that are quoted from Stevenson's Godkin Lectures in the pages that follow demonstrate that Stevenson, in contrast, has the rare capacity to be "a great asker, and patient hearer of the truth."

* * *

If the instinct for priorities is first among the qualities demanded of the 35th President, by itself it is not enough. On the issues which the 35th President "chooses to bring to the center of national attention" he must have his own sound concepts of the course he wants the Congress to adopt, the nation to pursue.

Adlai Stevenson lacked these concepts in 1952. Emerging under the aegis of Harry Truman, and standing on the record of 20 New Deal and Fair Deal years, he was forced to wage an essentially defensive campaign. His addresses in Richmond and Salt Lake were literary masterpieces; his lecture on political morality to the Town Hall Club of Los Angeles was a solid contribution drawn from his experiences in Springfield; his speeches on foreign aid and farm policy represented the best liberal thinking then in print, his fireside broadcast of September 29 ranks as a classic of courage and eloquence. And yet very few of Stevenson's 1952 speeches contained new ideas.

Now Stevenson and his advisers have been at work for three years on a program for America. He has proposed policies overseas to Secretary Dulles—without much success. He has developed points of view on major domestic issues which he will present between now and next November. On two major issues, of health and education, he has outlined his attitudes in speeches that are quoted in the pages that follow. They set him apart from Republicans—and from other Democratic contenders.

Dwight Eisenhower always gave education high priority. His three years in office have yielded one three-day conference, no more. The reason is that the nation is fully employed, and that to build new schools and to raise teachers' salaries with the aid of federal funds would be "inflationary."

There is truth, of course, in this assertion. And yet

(Continued on page 12)

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Why Is He a Candidate?

Mr. Stevenson Replies

On the eighth floor of the Continental Bank Building in Chicago, in the panelled rooms that once housed a finance company, are the law offices of Adlai E. Stevenson, W. Willard Wirtz, William McCormick Blair, Jr., and Newton R. Minow. The last of the four, the youngest, is a working lawyer; the second clings to his practice. And in the corner room to which the grave and gentle Bill Blair leads visiting delegations of assemblymen from Oklahoma, students from Indo-China, journalists from West Germany, and politicians from Chicago's south side, a few volumes of Illinois Revised Statutes and Federal Administrative Law still stand on the shelves to testify to the profession that Adlai Stevenson intended to follow after his defeat in 1952. They serve now for decoration as Stevenson struggles to keep ahead of the 160 daily telephone calls that demand urgent attention, the 400 letters that go out over his name each day, the mounting schedule of speeches.

Here, behind an orderly desk, sits Stevenson, a little heavier than in 1952, but fast in his movements, astonishingly fast in grasping new ideas, still very much a man in his prime.

I believed that if Stevenson were to seek out the Presidency in 1956, he would need to voice compelling reasons for his initiative. The first of my questions, accordingly, was:

What central reason leads you to believe that the Republican Party should be turned out of office in 1956?

Stevenson read it over. "These," he said, "are the things I'm against.

"I'm against the concept of single-interest government; the domination by one group of democratic government, and thereby the exclusion from participation in government of the people to whom it should be responsible.

"I'm against the habit of professing one thing and doing another: of announcing a school program and then doing nothing about it; of firing a Talbott and at the same time decorating him; of proclaiming the indispensability of Indo-China and then affirming its expendability; of insisting day in and day out on having it both ways.

"I'm against the Administration's erratic and vacillating foreign policy. I think it highly damaging. I mean the easy use of frightening phrases like 'massive retaliation'; the playing fast and loose with honored traditions of diplomacy; the subordination of valued allies in vital programs overseas to the internal prejudices and squabbles of the Republican Party.

"I'm against the forms of fiscal piety that seem to me so hypocritical; the talk about the responsibilities of all citizens to bear the national financial burden, and at the same time the constant efforts to take care of one group. Let's be honest fiscally. Let's say that when inflation threatens we maintain taxes and reduce the debt, and when hard times come we reduce taxes and expand purchasing power. And let's keep to this honest policy instead of the present combination of pious pretension, and insidious action to manipulate tax reductions around election time, for the sake of votes.

"Finally, I'm against the temporizing with McCarthy, with the Bill of Rights, with all the cardinal virtues. You asked me," Stevenson continued, shaking off his tiredness and speaking with rising feeling, "why I want to turn out the Republicans in 1956. It's because I am persuaded that if this group holds power much longer all these evils may be fastened upon the country with a grip which I for one fear.

"If for no other reason, I want to get this group out of office because I believe that in an era of bigness, of concentration of power, this coalescence of government, of business, of money, and of the press in the present Administration has joined together too much power in one place for the good of the country, and—well, it's time for a change!"

Stevenson's mood changed then from earnestness to light-heartedness. "All in all," he said, grinning, "I guess I don't feel good about this Administration!"

Does Stevenson have a better vision of the way in which the power of the federal government can be used for the general welfare that leads him now to seek out the Presidency? My second question was:

Do you have a foreign and domestic program in mind, in addition to your concept of 'honest political leadership', whose achievement makes a Democratic victory urgent in 1956?

"To be sure," Stevenson answered, "we have no single issue such as depression or war—and I'm thankful we haven't. We do have all the issues, of power, of resources, of farm income, of health and education, and they're all a part of our central theme of an expanding economy. That theme, in turn, reflects the compassion for people, the concern for people, that distinguishes our party from the Republicans. The place where the two

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parties separate, in my opinion, should be and still is the concern of the one for the many, and of the other for the few."

"Your next question," said Stevenson reading my list, "is the hardest I know, and also it's loaded. But I'll try to answer it." The question was:

Do you believe that the accepted role of the Presidency has changed during the last three years? What is your concept of the Presidential role? How, for example, would you bridge the gap between party leader and national leader?

"The President," said Stevenson, "has met the demands of his office in accordance with his own gifts. He is a conciliator by nature and a staff operator by training to whom the role of political leader is novel.

"In general terms, I see the Presidency as far more than the job of presiding as chairman of the board. I see it as the most important executive responsibility in all the world, to me that responsibility dictates an active role in the development of policy and a determination that, once developed, sound policy is understood and accepted and carried out.

"A strong President, I suppose, can be both party leader and national leader beyond his party. The party is the indispensable mechanism of his purpose; his conscience is the nation's. He must, one might say, be a party man who keeps his conscience clear. For you have to live with your conscience, even if you live in the White House."

My fourth question reflected a fear that in defeat the Republican Party may relapse into irresponsibilty and extremism, and a conviction that the calmer and saner spirit we have achieved under President Eisenhower, is too precious to be lost. Stevenson read out:

How would you prevent the break-up of national unity, the renewal of domestic tension, the return to prejudice engendered by the opposition party and enlarged by the press following a Democratic victory?

Stevenson's answer was to treat intolerance as an American rather than as a Republican problem. "Of course, there will be opposition," he said. "A good deal of it will arise from sources beyond any man's control. In times of unemployment or disillusionment, people have to focus their frustration and misery upon some identifiable object. In an autocracy the scape-goat is chosen by the authorities to save their own skins. In a democracy authority itself becomes the scape-goat.

"We are, of course, better off in this regard than we were four years ago. And yet I'm afraid that there remains in this country a powerful group that profits from criticism for criticism's sake. They have gained from the erosion of confidence caused by their sustained attack upon those who bear the uncomfortable burdens of responsibility. So they may try it again. I would hope only that if this kind of utterly irresponsible opposition arises after 1956, then the next President of this country will not hesitate to identify it, to confront it, and to fight it from the outset, even if it arises within his own party."

My last question was personal:

In 1952 you seemed to be haunted by a sense of personal inadequacy in approaching the Presidency. Have you changed since then in your appraisal of yourself?

"In 1952," said Stevenson, ". . . and this is a point I can never get across to the press—I could not run for the Presidency. It wasn't as though I was a private citizen. I was the Governor of a major state, and I had just been chosen, without opposition in the primary, as my party's candidate for another term. I could not say 'on Tuesdays and Thursdays I will run for Governor, and on Wednesdays and Fridays for President.' But the press could never accept that simple truth!"

"Today," he added, "no man with an awareness of the times and of his own limitations can pound his chest as a Presidential candidate. No man worthy of that honor and responsibility can say, 'here boys look me over, I've got the brains, I've got the moral stature and the physical stamina, I've got all it takes!"

"And yet," Stevenson reflected, "If a man grants his limitations, then his opponents point to him and say 'see, even he admits that he is inadequate!' "

"There is, of course, a difference in my appraisal of myself now and four years ago. I was as busy as a bird dog then as Governor of Illinois. We had accomplished in two sessions the largest program ever adopted in an equivalent length of time in any state. My job had shifted over night from the United Nations to the horizons of the Mississippi and the Wabash. I had saturated myself in a 90-hour week mastering the details of state administration—and I loved it. Suddenly to be thrust again into the limitless expanse that I hadn't touched was inevitably a sobering experience. It was also a perplexing dilemma in its conflict of responsibility and trust. If I had said then, 'folks I'm your candidate for Governor, and I'd also like to be considered for President' why that would have been intolerable! I wouldn't have deserved either candidacy!

"Now, I have been absorbed by national or international issues for three solid years. I am ready, and so perhaps I am also a little less . . ." Stevenson paused, in search of the right word. "Diffident," suggested Harry Ashmore, a staff adviser who was sitting with us.

"You know," Stevenson added, "there was a time not long ago when I could tell you how many hospital beds had been added in my term of office in Springfield, how many miles of road built, how many saplings planted. I don't suppose," he said regretfully, "that I could do it any more."

M.S.

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"I don't mean a warmed-over New Deal."

(Continued from page 9)

its logic is to conclude that we cannot afford to give our children an adequate education because we are too rich. Only if we experience the good fortune of mass unemployment, according to this doctrine, can we afford to devote our dollars and manpower to tackling overcrowded schools, and avoidable diseases and slums.

"I faced this situation in my own state of Illinois when I succeeded a Republican Administration," Stevenson told a college audience in 1952. He continued:

> Illinois, one of the richest states in the union, had one of the lowest ratings for state aid to common-school education in the whole United States. The revival, the strengthening and the doubling in four years, of the state's contribution to our school distributive fund, was one of the most satisfying experiences I have had in my regime as Governor.

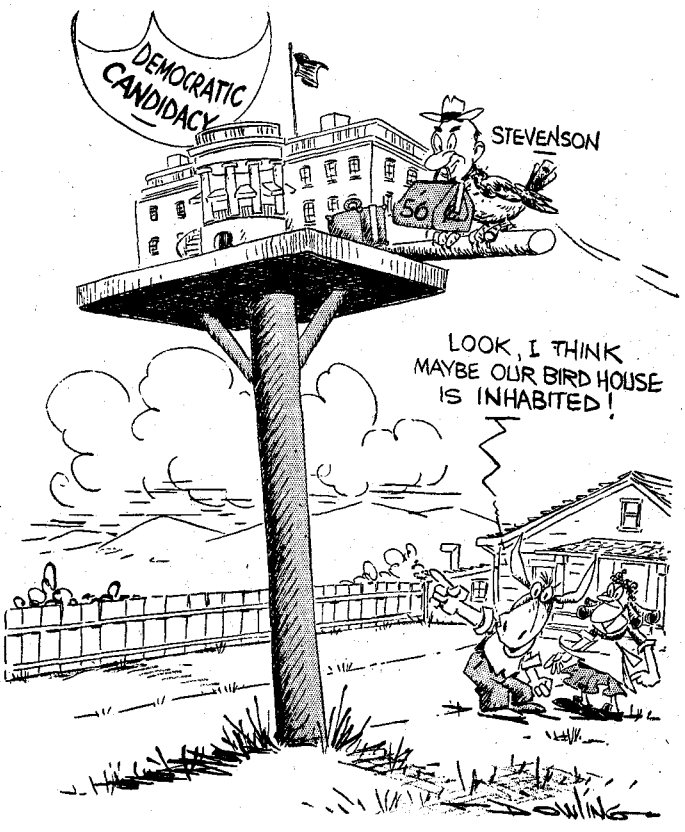
Stevenson favors today an immediate program of federal aid to education. So do all of the prominent contenders for the Democratic nomination in 1956. Governor Mennen Williams of Michigan, for example, has spelled out, in more detail than Stevenson, and in larger amounts, the federal grants he would appropriate for teachers' salaries and school construction. The break with traditional doctrine that Stevenson brings to the debate is his preoccupation with the quality and purpose of the education that he wants the federal government to help finance.

No precise definition of this break can be found in Stevenson's speeches. Yet it resembles the approach set forth by Arthur Bestor in his study, *The Restoration of Learning*, when he writes:

> In the United States most problems have first been thought of as quantitative problems. Eventually they have to be dealt with as qualitative ones. In every enterprise there comes a time when the law of diminishing returns sets in so far as mere physical expansion is concerned. . . .

A preoccupation with quality, and a refusal to approach any problem in terms only of rigid doctrine are presumably what Stevenson points toward when he demands a change from the present Republican Administration and at once adds, "I don't mean a change back to a warmed-over New Deal."

What kind of a change in substance does Stevenson mean? He has voiced no clear view as yet on agriculture nor the regulation of monopoly. He has insisted that it is foolish to call TVA "Communism"—and so he has avoided the public power issue, —for no responsible critic of TVA has called it that. To return to education, how will Stevenson approach the problem of insolvency that threatens our universities? In his article on business



Plenty of activity

in the October, 1955, issue of *Fortune*, Stevenson affirms that our business corporations will have to assume a major responsibility for financing higher education in America. Here he follows the analysis of A. A. Berle, but without mentioning any of the perils of corporate control of education which Berle recognizes. In general his discussion of business leaves one confused.

In coming months, of course, Stevenson and his advisers will fill out the gaps in his program. For the moment what is interesting is his break in general terms with the Fair Deal. In principle the break is logical; for ten years of expansion and of research have passed since the social objectives of the Fair Deal were laid down. In practice Stevenson's break with the past alienates some of the veterans of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, but it attracts young people to him; they want to move on.

* * * *

"I see the Presidency . . . as the most important executive responsibility in all the world," Stevenson declares in the interview that accompanies this assessment. Great executive ability, then, is demanded of the 35th President, beyond an instinct for priorities, and a clear concept of what the priorities entail. It is not of primary importance—Abraham Lincoln for example was a poor administrator who interfered erratically in the operations of his cabinet members and filed state papers in the sweatband of his stove-pipe hat—and yet the federal government has grown so immense, and become such a part of each community that executive incompetence in the

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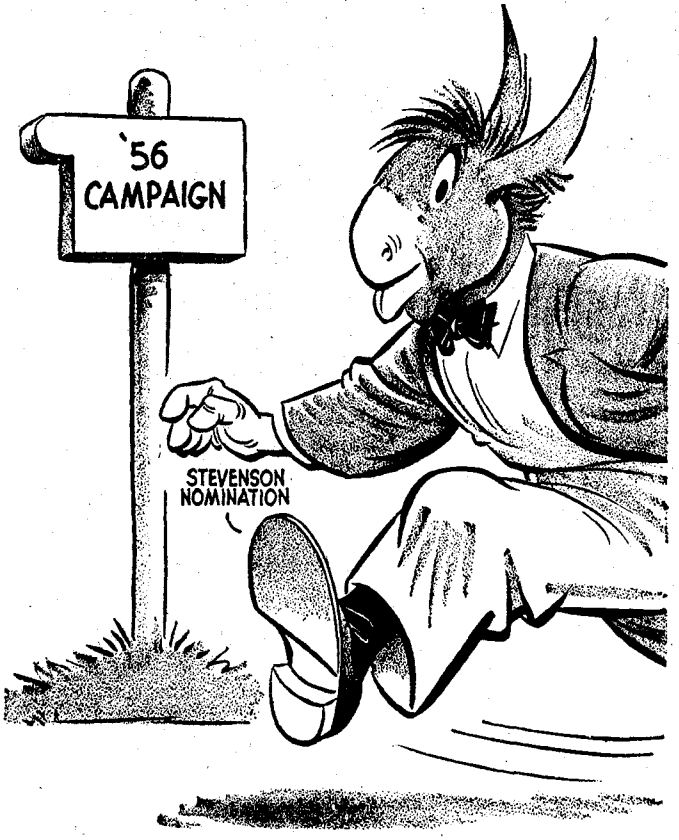
White House can cause endless trouble in the nation.

George Washington felt overburdened by the tasks of supervising three departments of government and six minor agencies. Harry Truman, in contrast, was held responsible for the work of nine major departments, 104 bureaus, 12 sections, 108 services, 81 branches, 460 offices, 621 divisions, 19 administrations, six agencies, 16 areas, 40 boards, six commands, 20 commissions, 19 corporations, five groups, 10 headquarters, three authorities and 263 miscellaneous bits of government machinery.

Dwight Eisenhower endeavored to defend himself against the aggressive demands of administration by installing a military system of staff work in the White House. He saw only top subordinates; he adjudicated only final disputes. The price he paid for this relative freedom from detail was to remove himself from contact with a healthy variety of viewpoints and to deny himself knowledge as to what was taking place in his administration.

Stevenson, in contrast, runs himself ragged in an effort to master detail. It was with some effort that his sister dragged him from his desk in the Governor's Mansion to meet his guests each Christmas Day.

This country lives in the present, and in our present preoccupation with Stevenson the Orator, Stevenson the Governor of Illinois has become a forgotten man. The Governor, however, was an able administrator. "There are only three rules of sound administration," Stevenson later wrote; "pick good men, tell them not to cut corners, and back them to the limit; and picking good men is the most important." Stevenson followed his three rules in Springfield. He brought in nationally recognized experts to head his departments of State Government. He backed them, and in four years he accomplished more than any other governor had done in a comparable period in the history of Illinois. He eliminated useless workers on the state payroll, put state purchasing on a businesslike basis, took politics out of the state police and the Commerce Commission, enacted a major road and hospital construction program, knocked out commercial gambling and enforced the laws setting maximum weights for trucks. He pushed through 78 government reorganization bills and a modernization of the state's antiquated constitution. He pressed hard but unsuccessfully for a state Fair Employment Practices Commission but abolished segregation in the Illinois National Guard.



Best foot forward?

"...pick good men... and back them..."

More recently Stevenson's administrative capacity has come to be judged by his staff work during the 1952 campaign. The impression left then upon newspapermen was poor. Stevenson had been thrust without planning into a national campaign. He reacted by promoting trusted friends and assistants who had worked with him in Illinois to his press staff and to the top leadership of the Volunteers for Stevenson. More than one of these who was adequate at the state level failed in attempting to cope with the larger professional problems of a Presidential campaign.

Now the newspapermen are again watching Stevenson as he picks his key staff men. This time there is no excuse for improvisation, and Stevenson's choices will be watched as clues to the kind of men he would surround himself with and the ways in which he would use them after November, 1956.

Stevenson's probable campaign manager is the respected James Finnegan, who rose through the ranks of the Democratic Party and whose operations in 1952 helped to make Philadelphia one of the few bright Democratic spots in a national defeat. Archibald Alexander, State Treasurer of New Jersey and one of the ablest intellectuals in politics, is likely to direct the reborn Volunteers, an organization which Stevenson sees as indispensable, both in organizing the independents, and in keeping the professionals in line. Harry Ashmore has left the editorship of the influential *Arkansas Gazette* to manage Stevenson's public relations. Roger Tubby, who served ably as President Truman's press secretary, will handle the press. The only man missing in the picture is a Tom Corcoran, the brilliant combination of politician and poet, field general and idea man, whose first drafts of great speeches were more Roosevelt than Roosevelt himself. But with Stevenson such a man, if he could be found, could not last long.

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"...among Democrats a doubt persists..."

Stevenson cannot, as Eisenhower did, take another man's work and read it off as his own. He would regard this as intellectual dishonesty. It is an act of faith with him to disappear for two days in order to work on a minor speech. Thousands of votes may have been lost in 1952 because Stevenson was polishing the style of his speeches when he should have been polishing political apples. His absorption with his own drafts added to his reputation for aloofness, which is still a serious political liability. In exchange, as the nation suffers with him while he wrestles with the farm program, or rises with him in his eloquence, it knows that it is seeing the candidate himself, and not the processed package of a public relations firm. An unknowing audience, given an Eisenhower speech to identify, may name a hundred different orators. Stevenson's whistle-stop speeches, his best, could only have been given by one man. Only one man could have spoken as Stevenson did, for example, on November 4, 1952, when he encountered a band of children in a school yard used as a polling place:

> . . . I think you are going to remember today for one thing only, that you got a half day off from school. I am sure I have enjoyed this as much as you have and I would like to spend the recess this morning playing with you in the school yard. But I don't know what we would play. What would we play?
>
> (Shouts, "Baseball! Football!")
>
> The same old fight between the cattlemen and the sheepmen. Wouldn't anybody like to have a little mock game of politics?
>
> (A little boy: "We don't like mud fights")
>
> Well! I never saw a kid who didn't like a mud fight! . . .

Nor could any ghost writer match the grace of his extemporaneous speech of farewell of August 14, 1952, at the Illinois State Fair:

> . . . Before I leave I want to say to you shamelessly and sentimentally that my heart will always be here in Illinois. Here five generations of my family have lived and prospered. My roots are deep in our prairies and I owe Illinois a great debt. I have tried my best to discharge that debt honorably and well. But in the process I have only increased my obligations.

* * *

The 35th President, if he is to do what the times demand, will have to fight for measures whose enactment and execution will be hotly opposed. This is particularly true if the next President is a Democrat, for the Democratic Party is the party of reform, and in promoting change it must expect and overcome the resistance of powerful interests. For this reason, as party leader, the Democrat who is President must be able to give life and vitality to his projects, to mobilize his party behind them in the Congress and, when the Congress balks, to bring public opinion to bear on the Congress, on behalf of his aims.

As Governor of Illinois Stevenson demonstrated those qualities. And yet among Democrats, a doubt persists that he possesses a feeling for people, an ability to communicate, a human warmth, a common touch of the kind that made Harry Truman President in 1948. Stevenson, these critics will grant, aroused an almost fanatical devotion among professional groups in 1952. These groups, the critics will add, are highly vocal but they don't win elections. Pressed for details the critics will point to the disappointing turnout in traditionally Democratic areas in 1952. The votes prove, they maintain, that farmers never warmed to Stevenson and that to labor he was just not "their kind of a guy."

One kind of reservation (which concerns Stevenson as a candidate rather than as a President) points to the contrast between Stevenson and Truman, and holds Stevenson at fault. "In 1952," one Democrat recalls, "we were driving across the fields to the farm rally in Kasson. We were urging Stevenson to make a real give-'em-hell-Harry speech. About then a weatherbeaten old farmer runs out of the crowd. 'Give 'em—give 'em heck, Adlai!' he cries."

But if this quality is a liability with some voters, others are drawn to Stevenson by his reverence for restraint.

A second reservation concerns Stevenson's unwillingness to generate mass support. "Slum clearance is a crying need for America," the critic argues. "Tell me when Adlai Stevenson last visited a slum? Automation is causing layoffs by the hundreds of thousands; when did Adlai last talk to the men on an assembly line? Farmers are going bankrupt by the thousands right now. When they listen to Adlai wrestling with himself on the subject of parity, do they feel he's on their side? When Emmett Till was murdered down in Mississippi, every colored man in the country and every decent white man wanted to protest. Where was the leader of the party of justice then?"

A third reservation, often heard, concerns Stevenson's use of unfamiliar images, abstract arguments, involved sentences and polysyllabic words. "The people don't think he talks above them," Stevenson's advisers insist. "The heck they don't!" a labor leader (who is ardently for Stevenson) replies. He continues:

> I was speaking to a trade union conference not long ago, and I said, "How many of you here understand Stevenson?" "Oh, we all understand him," they answered, "it's just that the other guys don't." A woman came up to me afterwards. "They don't understand him either," she whispered. "They're ashamed to admit it, that's all."

A further reservation concerns Stevenson's unwillingness to undertake the political chores demanded both of

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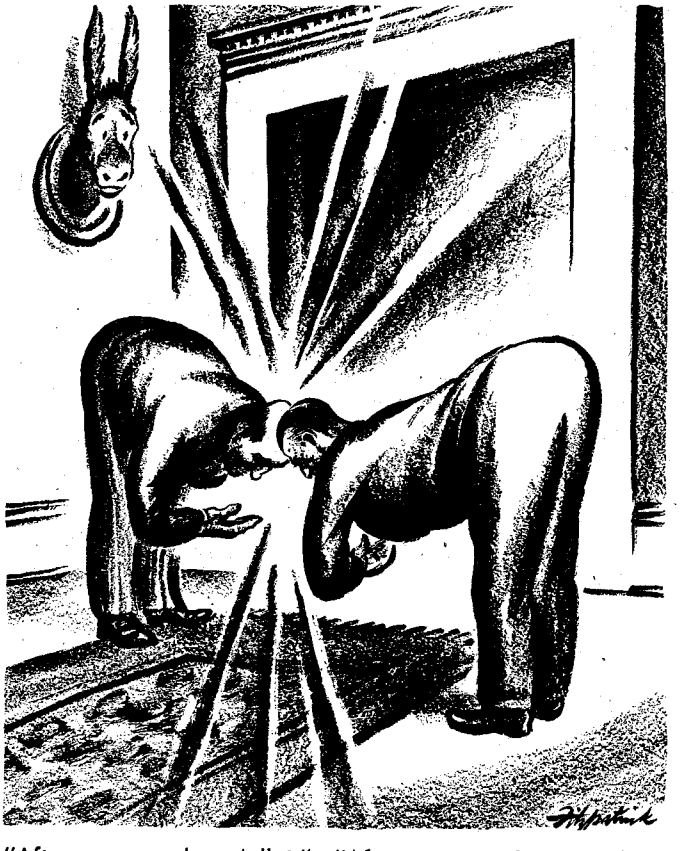
a successful candidate and of a President who keeps in close touch with his supporters. "Of course Stevenson is our first choice," agrees a trade union official. "And yet," he adds, "I scratch labor and I find indifference. Walter Reuther is for him, of course, and so are Jacob Potofsky and Dave Dubinsky. So is George Meany, I suppose. The rest are lukewarm to cold. Do you know why? It's because Stevenson has never called them up, never said 'come on over for a chat.' He assumes that they must be interested in what he has to say. But he's never indicated that *he's* interested in *their* point of view. Take Averell Harriman for comparison. When he arrives in a town he takes out his black book and starts to telephone. When he leaves town there isn't a trade union official who hasn't picked up the receiver and heard the Governor of New York."

There is a final reservation concerning Stevenson as a President who can carry the people with him—it is that at heart he really doesn't like politicians or politics. In this there is certainly some truth. It is said of Senator Hubert Humphrey that he can return to Minnesota ashen-faced and exhausted after months in Washington, set out on tour, speak 10 times a day for a week, and sleep four hours a night and then return to Washington as fresh as a daisy. Stevenson, in contrast, is more enervated than nourished by adulation. Franklin Roosevelt was a great President in part because he loved to hold the federal power. For Stevenson, again, power is more headache than aspirin.

This last reservation is perhaps the most serious of all



"After you, my dear Adlai." "After you, my dear Averell."

"The Presidency is a killing job . . ."

in assessing Stevenson's qualifications for the Presidency. For Americans do not want as their President a man who does not want to be President. They remember that in his acceptance speech in 1952 Stevenson referred to the "dread responsibility" of the Presidency. They recall that he added, "I have not sought the nomination. . . . I would not seek it in honest self-appraisal. . . ." They wonder if his self-appraisal has altered since then. The death of Franklin Roosevelt and the disability of Dwight Eisenhower have convinced them that today the Presidency is a killing job. They realize that it demands a man who is mentally, emotionally, and physically prepared. They believe that self-doubt and hesitation in a candidate may lead to paralyzing indecision in a President once he is subjected to the Presidency's fearful strains. They see in Richard Nixon a man who entertains no shred of doubt that he would make one whale of a President. And this much at least in Nixon they respect. They know that Stevenson does not possess Nixon's self-salesmanship. They wonder if he possesses Nixon's self-confidence. There is no doubt that Adlai Stevenson has overcome his inner reluctance, his hesitation, his self-doubt. But he has yet to convey the change to the American people.

Among these criticisms, then, some relate to a former time. But others concern traits of personality that are not likely to change radically. For these traits are part, not only of a steadfast personality, but of a well-founded attitude towards politics.

Stevenson, when he travels overseas, will not send postcards by the thousands to precinct workers back home in the manner of the indefatigable Estes Kefauver. His refusal to do so reflects the fact that winning is not his highest goal.

It is probable moreover that Stevenson will always prefer the company of a Harvard historian or a Chicago North Shore squire to that of an official of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters or a convention delegate who claims to control five votes. He may be told a thousand times that a leader of the people, in these days of press and television, is a wholly public personality whose every movement the people must watch and approve. He will stand fast on his conviction that the right of privacy is fundamental and that, just as he respects it in the public, so the public must respect it in him.

Stevenson will not oversimplify issues nor limit himself to words of three syllables. He will resist making promises that he cannot fulfill. He will not change his public personality in search of votes, as the public personality of the Vice President appears to be changing these days from partisan to statesman. Stevenson respects the American people and treats them as his equals.

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"our sandbank . . . is bound to grow"

He is available for leadership, but on his own terms.

Stevenson is opportuned every day now by advisers who beg him to build his campaign around an emotional appeal. He will do no such thing. He dislikes emotionalism; he has no wish to stir up further feeling where feeling already runs deep. To reduce the point to the grotesque, it is as unthinkable that Stevenson could wind up a television appearance by daring his enemies to deprive him of his cocker spaniel, as it is that Nixon could tell a Republican rally, "Better we lose the election than mislead the people."

Stevenson's distaste for emotionalism derives from the heart of his political faith. It is contained in the testament of William James that serves as the frontispiece of his volume of 1952 speeches, and until it is read, Stevenson cannot be understood.

> Reason [James wrote] is one of the very feeblest of Nature's forces, if you take it at any one spot and moment. It is only in the very long run that its effects become perceptible. Reason assumes to settle things by weighing them against one another without prejudice, partiality, or excitement; but what affairs in the concrete are settled by is and always will be just prejudices, partialities, cupidities, and excitements. Appealing to reason as we do, we are in a sort of forlorn hope situation, like a small sandbank in the midst of a hungry sea ready to wash it out of existence. But sandbanks grow when the conditions favor; and weak as reason is, it has the unique advantage over its antagonists that its activity never lets up and that it presses always in one direction, while men's prejudices vary, their passions ebb and flow, and their excitements are intermittent. Our sandbank, I absolutely believe, is bound to grow—bit by bit it will get dyked and breakwatered.

Stevenson went into politics because "the governorship of Illinois was a great dramatic opportunity to demonstrate to all and sundry . . . that . . . 'our sandbank is bound to grow'." Again, it was his concern with the sandbank that led him in the 1952 campaign to warn Legionnaires that he would not succumb to pressure groups, to tell trade unionists that the nation came before labor's interest, to inform farmers that they would get no special treatment from him, to insist to European-Americans that "Even if votes could be won by it, I would not say one reckless thing [on the liberation of Eastern Europe] during this campaign." The same faith in reason led Stevenson to warn the electorate that his term of office as President would be one of "strife, dissension and ruthless, uncontrollable and hostile power abroad." Eisenhower, in contrast, made it clear that once the party of patriotism was elected to power, then under the warmth of his sunny personality, the hardships of high taxes and the threats of world Communism would recede. Stevenson lost in 1952, for a powerful vision of a better time is at any time more appealing than the promise to preside over grim and bloody years. And yet Stevenson's faith in the power of reason was unaltered. "It is only in the very long run that its effects become perceptible."

Without doubt Stevenson's reliance on reason weakens him today among the militant forces that make up the backbone of the Democratic Party. But it gives him the added appeal that other candidates lack. For example, it persuades the South that he is a man of moderation, and therefore Stevenson alone among the Democratic candidates is able to gain the indispensable precondition of success, the support of a united party.

Stevenson's reliance on reason gives him further strength as a President, in his ability to work with his opposition. He was willing and eager to reason with the Illinois Republicans. And his second term in office, when the Republicans held both branches of the Illinois legislature, was more successful than the first, when they held only one.

Stevenson's bipartisanship is of a deeper kind than Eisenhower's. More than once Stevenson has been outraged by the President's action in appointing Republicans who wear a Democratic label to key posts on the regulatory agencies that true Democrats are entitled to hold by law. In the heat of the 1954 campaign Vice-President Nixon linked the Democratic Party to subversion and President Eisenhower predicted that a Democratic Congress would result in a partisan cold war. Stevenson at that moment told a Democratic rally in Harrisburg:

> If the time ever comes when Republicans really regard Democrats, or Democrats regard Republicans, as enemies, then truly the processes of democracy will stop—for these processes require as between the two great parties compromise and co-operation and respect.

This conviction more than any other holds out the promise that Stevenson can be a great President. For the President is not simply a party leader, but the national leader as well. He is the man who makes the nation over in his image, and makes it better by appealing to the best in the nation. He is the man, as Woodrow Wilson maintained, in whom "the voices of the nation unite in a single meaning . . . so that he can speak what no man else knows, the common meaning of the common voice."

It was Dwight Eisenhower's contribution in three years to restore the Presidency to this role. And since the American people understood this role and endorse it, they will insist that their 35th President continues in the tradition of a man who is both within politics and beyond politics. His faith in reason endows Stevenson with this rare capacity. Few others possess it in America today. The true measure of Adlai Stevenson is not the man against the unattainable ideal of the Presidency, but the man against other men. By this measure Stevenson stands alone. "Of course I'm not adequate to be President," he remarks, "But then, neither is anyone else!"

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It Seems to Me...

Democrat Stevenson's Views on the Central Domestic and International Questions of the Day

FOREIGN POLICY

IN ONE important respect it is fortunate that the adversary in the atomic age is totalitarian Bolshevism rather than totalitarian Nazism. The latter, personified by Hitler and unthinkable without him, was suicidally romantic and naïvely irrational. There is good reason to believe that the Kremlin, with or without Stalin, resembles the bookie more than the gambler. It will calculate the odds. It will take risks but it won't risk everything. It will avoid ventures which might involve ruinous losses even if it has to forego ventures which might yield large gains. As conservative revolutionaries, somewhat sobered by 35 years of power, as compared to Hitler's six short years in 1939, they will also liquidate ventures that prove unprofitable or no longer profitable, as in Greece, the Berlin blockade and Korea.

On such an appraisal of a fearful, cautious, stubborn and implacable adversary, the uneasy, unsatisfactory status quo must be maintained until some solution can be found to the basic problem of a divided Europe, which is a divided Germany. Perhaps in time the mounting tensions of a divided Germany will merge into the larger problems of a divided Europe. Perhaps the Soviet rulers may in time conclude that the withdrawal of British-American forces from a united and really independent Europe is safer and better than maintaining Russian garrisons amid the rising tensions of an unnaturally divided Europe.

We should, I believe, be thinking beyond the cold confines of the Cold War. Perhaps the ultimate solution will be a declaration of independence for all of Europe, based on the developing strength of the organs of European unity. Perhaps there will evolve the concept of an independent united Europe linked with the United States and Britain on the one hand, and the Soviet Union on the other, in mutual security arrangements pledging common resistance against aggression by any one of the three.

* * *

Much of the world in Asia, Africa and the Middle East is on the way—somewhere; is trying to telescope centuries into decades, trying to catch up with the Western industrial and technological revolutions overnight and under much more difficult circumstances. And they are trying to accomplish this mighty transformation by the methods of consent, not coercion. A policy based just on anti-Communism and military potency is not in the spirit of this great movement of the Twentieth Century and will win few hearts. The challenge for us is to identify ourselves with this social and human revolution, to encourage, aid and inspire the aspirations of half of mankind for a better life, to guide these aspirations into paths that lead to freedom. To default would be disaster.

The great issue that splits the world in this troubled age, the issue of tyranny or freedom, cannot be reconciled. But need it be forced to a decision? It seems to me the problem is not to find ways to live in harmony with the adversary; it is to find ways to live beside him in the bitter discord of incessant power and ideological competition. In time there will be a break, sooner perhaps than prudence admits.

The infinity of problems we now face cannot all be solved quickly. And some of our problems probably can't be solved at all. Our choice is to let time assuage or exacerbate. Emotion in matters of national security is no substitute for intelligence, nor rigidity for prudence. To act coolly, intelligently and prudently in perilous circumstances is the test of a man or nation. The responsibility for organizing and sustaining the great coalition befell us Americans suddenly and before we were prepared for it. But we shall have to learn this job quickly and well. As foreign policy grows out of historical experience and reflects national character, perhaps it is not irrelevant to this task to consider some aspects of our national character and experience.

One of our hardest tasks—if we hope to conduct a successful foreign policy—is to learn a new habit of thought, a new attitude toward the problems of life itself. Fortitude, sobriety and patience as a prescription for combating intolerable evil are cold porridge to Americans who yesterday tamed a continent and tipped the scales decisively in two world wars. Americans have always assumed, subconsciously, that all problems can be solved; that every story has a happy ending; that the

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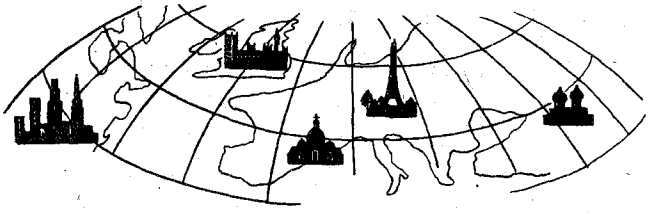

application of enough energy and good will can make everything come out right. In view of our history, this assumption is natural enough. As a people, we have never encountered any obstacle that we could not overcome. The Pilgrims had a rough first winter, but after that the colony flourished. Valley Forge was followed naturally by Yorktown. Daniel Boone always found his way through the forest. We crossed the Alleghenies and the Mississippi and the Rockies with an impetus that nothing could stop. The wagon trains got through; the Pony Express delivered the mail; in spite of Bull Run and the Copperheads, the Union was somehow preserved. We never came across a river we couldn't bridge, a depression we couldn't overcome, a war we couldn't win. So far, we have never known the tragedy, frustration and sometimes defeat which are ingrained in the memories of all other peoples.

So when we encounter a problem in foreign policy we naturally assume that it can be solved pretty quick, with enough drive, determination and red corpuscles. "The difficult we do immediately, the impossible takes a little longer." Just pour in enough man power, money and bulldozers, and we can lick it. If one diplomat can't come up with the answer, fire him and hire another—or better yet, hire 10. And if that doesn't solve it, some Americans conclude that there can be only one explanation: treason.

Many of the really hard problems in international relations may never be "solved" at all. The conflict between Moslem and Christian, which dominated world politics for some 300 years, was never resolved. Islam and Christianity learned to live together and the problem was submerged in the newer and more urgent problems of the Renaissance, the Age of Discovery, and finally the Industrial Revolution. So with the Thirty Years' War, which also started a conflict between two ideologies, Protestant and Catholic. The underlying issues were never settled because they were logically irreconcilable; but they did cease to preoccupy the minds of men, as nationalism and class conflict began to emerge as more pressing issues. Before that war finally petered out, curiously enough, a Catholic Cardinal—Richelieu—was organizing the Protestant League, and a Protestant general was leading the armies of the Holy Roman Empire. The struggle had been transformed from one of religious ideology to one of national ambition.

It is at least conceivable that the ideological conflicts of our own time will defy solution, in similar fashion, but will be replaced by other problems which we cannot now foresee.

So the first step in learning our new role in world affairs is not one which can be taken by technicians in the State Department, or even by political leaders. It has to be taken by individual Americans, in the privacy of their own homes, hearts and souls. It involves a conscious acceptance of Christian humility—a recognition that we are never going to solve many of the hard problems of the world, but will simply have to learn to live with them, for years and maybe for centuries.

When we have accomplished that step, we will no longer call out a posse to find the traitor who was responsible for "our" loss of China; or threaten the French with dire punishment if they don't stop behaving like Frenchmen forthwith. We will no longer be tempted by simple panaceas and total solutions—a blockade of China, or an arms burden that may crush necessary social changes in weak economies and deliver them to the enemy, or unlimited billions for Point Four, or whatever.

On the latter point don't misunderstand me. Point Four and technical assistance are good medicine, in doses which can be absorbed by responsible and genuinely representative governments. However, I am not one of those who think that economic aid is a miracle drug and a sure cure for all ailments, and especially when it is allocated and judged here at home not on its value in building stable, democratic societies, but on its effectiveness in winning a country, India for example, to our side. As I have indicated, I think conformity with our views and defensive alliances, while highly desirable, is generally not the cause but the consequence of government that has the support of the people so that they will want to defend it against external aggression or internal subversion. It is hard and futile to defend a government whose people won't defend it. We shall have to learn that we cannot buy agreement or effective alliances among the new states of the Middle East and Asia with economic or military aid. All we can do, and in my judgment must do, is to help with the building of free and independent governments whose people will defend them.

* * *

Probably the greatest obstacle in the path of peaceful co-existence is the Soviet belief in the inevitability of conflict between the Communist and the non-Communist worlds. And it is true that Soviet intolerance and unwillingness to abide by the rules of peaceful co-existence have shaken our faith in tolerance and the possibility of peaceful co-existence. But in the atomic era even the most fanatical faith is likely to balk at self-destruction. There is no Iron Curtain that the aggregate sentiments of mankind cannot and will not penetrate in time. Even the most fanatical ambition must adjust itself to demonstrated truth or perish. No faith can long

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rest on the belief that the world is flat—if its adherents know the world is round. "Great is the truth and mighty above all things."

The hope for peaceful co-existence lies in our ability to convince the rulers of the other world that they cannot extend their system by force, or by stealth, and that unless they use force against us we will not use force against them; that our coalition exists but to serve and to save the imperishable principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Intolerant power respects power, not weakness. It is imperative therefore to build and better the balance of power. Conspiracy and incitement prosper in disunion and discontent. It is imperative therefore to build and better the unity and well being of the free world. We cannot do it alone. It is imperative therefore to build and better the coalition. And here we encounter our greatest danger and our final task. A coalition built on expedient reaction to the common danger will not stand, because the Sino-Soviet alliance has the power to blow hot and cold, like Boreas and Phoebus in the fable; it has the power to relax or increase the tension as it sees fit. But our coalition cannot live by fits and starts; it must rest on an enduring community of interest. And successful communal relations mean give and take, cooperation, consultation, accommodation—a decent respect for the opinions of others. Our coalition is a partnership, not a dictatorship. We shall have to listen as well as talk; learn as well as teach. And I sometimes think that what America needs more than anything else is a hearing aid.

—Call to Greatness *by Adlai E. Stevenson*

UNITED NATIONS

MY DAYS with the United Nations started first back in the State Department in Washington, in preparation for the San Francisco Conference. Then at that greatest of all international conferences in San Francisco in the springtime 10 years ago when the Nazi night was lifting, Germany was crumbling, and in San Francisco it looked for a moment like a springtime for all mankind. Then I went to London as Deputy to Edward Stettinius, the Chief of our Delegation to the Preparatory Commission, to set up the United Nations—to build the structure—to put the flesh on the bare bones of the great charter that had been hammered out in those two great months of springtime in San Francisco. Secretary Stettinius promptly fell ill and had to return to the US and I succeeded him as Chief of the US Delegation and stayed in London for half a year. Then for two years—1946 and 1947—I had the privilege of serving as a member of the US Delegation to the General Assembly in New York. Many of the problems which confronted our world 10 years ago have not left us. The fundamental facts of international relations remain the same.

The "spirit of Geneva" has not blunted the sword of Communist military power or political ambition.

The first session of the General Assembly that cold, unheated, hungry winter in shattered London and the tenth session of the General Assembly in that magnificent modern building in New York, both list on their agenda the problems of atomic energy and armaments reduction.

As we mark the ending of the first decade of the history of the United Nations what counsel do we take of ourselves for the future?

I would mention only one thing. I sense a willingness to shorten the original limitless vision which inspired the United Nations. It was wise to temper foolish optimism, but there is a danger too that in adjusting or compromising our expectations the whole essential basis of values will become lost or distorted.

There are, for example, more important things than just winning votes and small victories in the councils of the UN. Our ultimate object is not just to win votes, but to win confidence; to win respect, not by our skill in lobbying, but by our reasonableness in debate and discussion. The United Nations is a center of world communication, a place where the power to command is nothing, the ability to lead, everything. It is a place, in John Masefield's phrase, where men can "clasp the hands and know the thoughts of men in other lands."

It must not appear to the world that our aim is just to marshal the faithful and win the daily battle of the ballots, or just to make sure that no one else gets away with anything. We have so much more than this to offer. Our ultimate role is not to win anything for ourselves—except a share in world peace. Our role is, in all humility, to find in common with others the paths to that mutual understanding and confidence which must precede peace.

It may well be that we are entering one of the most perilous periods of our century. One can wonder if our security system is coming apart at the seams. One has but to look to North Africa, to France, to the Middle East, to China and Japan. Are the new directions in Germany any more East than West? Is one of the greatest triumphs of the Soviet war of smiles that we here in America are reassuring each other that all is well? It is no accident that we are confronted with Communism in Russia and China, two great areas of the world that did not participate in the great political and industrial developments of the last century. Must Asia and Africa go the same way?

There is work to do and the United Nations will have to do much of it. Better that we stop debating foolish proposals to withdraw from the UN and spend more time considering how we can help in concert with other nations to save the future.

—Chicago, Illinois, October 24, 1955

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EDUCATION

A DISCUSSION of education cannot be cast just in terms of national needs, or a national policy or a national program. For education can serve the ends of democratic society only as it meets those of the individual human being. The essential condition of the system of free choice between conflicting ideas and leaders, which we call democracy, is that it be made up of all different kinds of people—which means that what we demand most of education is the development of informed people who are at the same time unique, different, unpatterned individuals. I think this means, in turn, that any national education policy must encourage difference, experimentation and flexibility in educational practice.

A second principle underlying our national educational policy is that whatever control of public education is required should be exercised by local authorities. Our public schools take much of their strength from the millions of private citizens who are involved directly in their affairs—the boards of trustees, the parent-teachers associations, the room mothers, and all the others. Local control keeps alive continuous debate and the freedom to experiment. It insures a wholesome diversity in educational plans and practices. It helps to keep public education from becoming an instrument of stifling conformity and uniformity.

Yet we have reached the point where the financing of education, as distinguished from its control, can no longer everywhere be taken care of entirely from local or even from state and local revenues. This is . . . a matter of plain arithmetic.

The key fact is that by law most schools must rely very largely for their support on property taxes. But property-tax revenues do not go up as the population and the community income and production go up. And the tax revenues which do rise in proportion—the income and excise taxes—have been largely taken over by the state and federal governments. . . . Adequate financing of public education . . . is first of all a responsibility of local and state governments. . . . Yet some measure of assistance to public education from the federal purse has now become necessary, and this necessity will become increasingly acute in the next few years.

Two centuries of American history and experience testify that this need for federal financial assistance can be met without the slightest degree of domination by the central government.

No such domination followed Congress' grant in 1785 of a section of every township in the federal domain for the maintenance of public schools.

Nor has President Lincoln's approval of the Land Grant College System resulted in federal control.

The GI Bill of Rights has done great good. So has the Fulbright Fellowship Program. And there has been no accompanying federal domination. . . . In February, 1953, just after he assumed office, President Eisenhower said: "Our school system demands some prompt, effective help."

Yet today, two and a half years later, nothing has been done. Instead of "prompt, effective help," we await a conference on education, to be held at the White House. . . . It seems to me a pitifully inadequate excuse for years of doing absolutely nothing about America's No. 1 domestic need—schools and teachers.

I do not mean to ignore the President's recommendation to Congress last February. We need, he said, $7 billion worth of new schools. But to help get them, he recommended that Congress pass not a law but a miracle. For meeting this $7 billion need the President proposed grants of $66 million a year for three years. This is 33 cents a year to meet every $35 of admitted present, crying need.

The President's recommendation also included federal loans for school construction to be repaid with interest. But the proposed amount was sufficient to cover only one-seventh of the needs the President listed, and when the fine print was read it developed that even these loan provisions were so drawn that they could never be used. The chief education officers of 40 states have said that it would be of no help whatsoever in their states. And Congress has long since buried the President's bill.

What then should our federal school-financing policy and program be?

It should be to face, honestly and forthrightly, our educational shortages, to hold the states and local communities responsible for meeting all of these shortages they can, and then to allocate from the taxes we collect from ourselves whatever is necessary to do the rest of the job.

The figures on the shortages are well known. Enrollment in primary and secondary schools increased as much in the school year just ended as it did in the entire 20 years between 1930 and 1950. Six million children went to school this year in firetraps. Seven hundred thousand children are on a split session basis and get only half-day schooling.

We are currently short at least 250,000 classrooms—which is rooms for 7.5 million children. The shortage of teachers is in some ways even more ominous than the shortage of school rooms. It is generally agreed that we need 180,000 more teachers than are presently available. Yet only 70,000 qualified teachers enter the profession each year. Somehow we must double the number to

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meet this appalling situation. We must start, it seems to me, with immediate support of the proposals now before Congress for $400 million of federal funds each year for the next four years for school construction to be matched by state funds.

The need for more teachers—145,000 new teachers a year—also means more money, higher salaries to make teaching a more attractive profession and more funds for educating teachers. Careful calculations indicate that a federal grant to the states of approximately $50 million a year, if matched by an equal amount of new state funds, will at least break the back of this problem.

So much for the present. Over the longer run it may be best not to tie federal assistance to specific purposes, such as school construction, but rather to make unrestricted cash grants to the states on a per pupil basis. State governments would then have much greater flexibility to distribute these funds among local school districts for whatever purpose would most effectively advance education.

In view of the financial difficulties of the states, I also have misgivings about making federal grants to education permanently on a matching basis. But in any event, to insure that federal assistance is given only to those states which already make a proper effort to support public education, and to avoid the further risk that federal aid might result in relaxed state and local effort, some stated minimum local effort should be required as a condition of federal assistance.

Moreover, in the interest of narrowing somewhat the present wide gap in educational opportunity among the children of the various states, it seems to me that there are cogent reasons of fairness and good sense for higher per pupil assistance to states with the least ability to finance education.

Finally, I would suggest a modest program of national scholarships to promising candidates who upon graduation would undertake to give some years to teaching. To encourage outstandingly competent teachers scholarships might also be awarded for special teacher training to graduate students, or for advanced work for already experienced teachers.

I have suggested here what seem to me the outlines . . . of our public educational system. Yet we all recognize that there is infinitely more to the problem than simply providing a classroom and a person with a teaching certificate for every 30 children between the ages of 5 and 17.

The larger challenge that we must meet together . . . is to prove that mass education can also be good education.

Good school buildings are an asset—but they are not the essence of good education. The real heart of good education remains, as always, good teaching. We must, if we want to improve the quality of education, attract into teaching and hold there a far larger number of our ablest young people. Compensation must be geared to ability and performance, and opportunity afforded for advancement to a high level based on merit, as in other professions.

And above all, teachers must be freed of the shackles of bigotry and anti-intellectualism, and the indignities of loyalty oaths and unwritten blue laws which no longer apply to other citizens.

It is another accepted requirement for improving educational quality, I think, that we be clearer as to the tasks and priorities of our schools. Today they are being asked to perform not only their traditional jobs but, more and more, functions traditionally recognized as the obligation of the family, the church, the employer, and other social institutions. Under pressure of this group or that, courses of study are becoming laden with activities whose educational value is at least subject to serious question.

In a growing and changing society, the primary tasks of the school must also grow and change. But we must be clear that if we expect the schools to do too much, if we expect the teacher to play too many roles, we are bound to be disappointed with the results. If our educational purposes are unclear, if the curriculum is chaotic and cluttered with distractions, if the teaching staffs are overburdened with an indiscriminate array of responsibilities well beyond their reasonable capacity to carry, we must expect that our children will be educated for mediocrity instead of for something better. . . . It is our common concern that we recognize and that we resist the pressures to let mass education become education for mediocrity. The dangers of mass education seem to me as much our problem as are its necessities.

We are well advised, I think, to take very seriously the admonition that education for all may come to mean real education for none.

—Chicago, Illinois, July 6, 1955

HEALTH

NOT MANY years ago the prevailing attitude, as it had been for centuries, was to accept illness and disease and premature death fatalistically. There seemed no choice but sad resignation. . . . Today there have come, almost suddenly, unmistakable signs that we are ready to mobilize in this area our capacities to do by united effort . . . what we have wanted but have been unable to do alone.

This change comes in part, as a consequence of the recent wide circulation of medical statistics. Figures tell so little of any story of human suffering, but these have been a shock treatment:

—one of every seven of us, as things are, will die of cancer;

—10 million of us are today suffering from arthritis, a million permanently disabled;

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—sickness in the nation's work force idles more employees than lack of work;
—and one of every 12 children born this year will at some time need institutional care because of mental disorder—unless new ways are found to combat diseases of the mind.

Yet if we have been shocked by these figures of tragedy and waste, it is another equally startling report that gives us the courage to know that there is something that can be done.

We hear, hardly daring to believe yet knowing it is true, the story of the results, during an eight-year period, of new medical research and education:

—deaths from influenza were reduced between 1944 and 1952 by three-quarters;
—those from appendicitis and acute rheumatic fever dropped two-thirds;
—fatalities from syphilis, kidney disease, pneumonia and tuberculosis were cut in half;
—the nation's death rate has been reduced by more than nine percent, the average life expectancy increased five full years.

People are now awakened—partly by the shock of learning the facts of our weakness, and partly by learning what can be accomplished—to a willingness and a great enthusiastic desire to contribute fully toward this accomplishment.

How? What form is this help to take? What is there for us, the people, to contribute to this essentially technical job? Money? Yes, of course. But more than that, too. It is vitally important that there be a people's program for their own health—so that they may marshal the support which is needed, may indicate the broad outlines of the non-scientific aspects of a democratic health policy, and may be at least able to make fullest use of scientific advance in this field.

One basic proposition in the developing public attitude is that methods must be worked out for making medical services better available to all who need it, and this without crippling cost to anyone. We are spending $15 billion a year for medical expenses. We are willing, if we have to, to pay more. But we want to make this expenditure as effective as possible, to realize the economy of *preventive* medicine, to assure the distribution of medical service on a basis of need for it, and to remove the haunting fear in so many American homes that if serious sickness strikes it will wipe out every cent of savings, perhaps cut off all earning power, and destroy life's dignity even if life itself is spared.

We are appalled by the report that more than a quarter of a million people die each year "whom we have the knowledge and the skills to save."

We think it not right that a million American families will have to spend more than half their income this year for medical care, that there will be 500,000 cases of catastrophic accident or illness which will consume the entire family income, that 8 million American families are today in debt for medical care, and that 2 million of these had to borrow at high interest rates from personal finance companies to cover the cost of medical treatment.

There is emerging impressive evidence of agreement that the most promising approach to this problem of distribution of medical service lies in the development of voluntary, private, prepayment health insurance programs. Indeed, three out of every five people in this country are now enrolled in some program of this type, although in very few cases is the coverage comprehensive and so far only a small percentage of total medical costs are taken care of this way.

This principle of private health insurance seems ideally fitted to the necessities of the problem of distributing medical service. Prepayment encourages resort to preventive medicine, with resultant reduction in the amount of costly hospitalization. In their most effective form these plans bring the ministrations of specialists to families who could not otherwise afford them.

But the application of this new principle is still at an experimental stage. . . . In half the states there are restrictive laws, passed in haste, which prevent responsible private groups of doctors and patients from working out the effective prepayment plans they consider best.

It is recognized by the leaders of both political parties, that some degree of government assistance in developing this new program is necessary. The proposal to meet this situation by offering federal reinsurance to voluntary health plans has already been rejected on all sides as only a gesture. Reducing the uncertainties of insurer's risks may help a little, but it doesn't really approach the central problems of raising the money to get these programs started and then covering into them the low income and older people who are most in need of more medical service.

Much nearer the mark, I think, are the proposals to make long-term, low-interest-rate loans to new prepayment groups and to subsidize part of the cost of comprehensive service to groups including some whose financial means are limited but whose medical needs are no less great.

Another point of now very general public agreement is that we need a good many more doctors and dentists and nurses, and a substantially larger medical plant—more hospitals and more or larger medical schools.

There were, we are told, fewer medical school graduates in 1950 than in 1905, and there are fewer doctors today in proportion to the population than there were a hundred years ago. Small wonder we are also told that we need at least 25,000 more doctors. . . . New medical

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school construction which will cost a quarter of a billion dollars is needed, and there is the further formidable problem that it costs four times as much to educate a medical student as he can be expected to pay in tuition.

The US Senate expressed unmistakably the national will when, in 1949, it passed unanimously a bill to assist medical schools. The American Medical Association opposed that bill and it died in a House of Representatives Committee. The expressed concern was about federal domination. But research in these schools has been subsidized by many millions of dollars of federal grants without a hint or whisper of domination. And for my part I don't believe government has any desire or intention to dominate medical education, and I think most all of us have complete confidence in the profession's development of an educational program. We are ready to do almost anything we are asked in order to get the doctors we need.

Finally, there is a powerful emergent demand today for an acceleration of the medical research program.

And here again, in spite of all that has been accomplished, we are shocked by the uncompromising figures:

—that with 10 million American men and women suffering from heart disease we are spending $16 million a year on research in this field—or $1.60 for each person presently afflicted;

—that with cancer having marked one of every seven of us as its victim, we are spending this year, to solve that cruel mystery, only $25 million—15¢ apiece;

—that with mental illness costing incalculable suffering, and almost $1.5 billion a year, we are spending $11 million, less than one percent of that cost, to combat it;

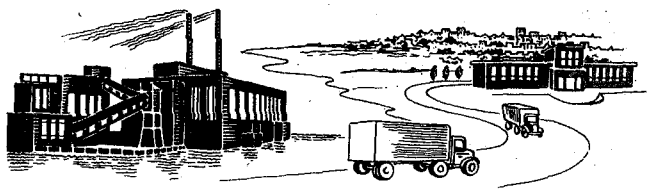
—that we are investing this year about a penny a person for research on arthritis and rheumatic diseases —cripplers of 10 million Americans.

It seems a little strange that the Department of Agriculture will spend this year for research on plant and animal diseases $10 million more than the Public Health Service is spending for research on cancer, arthritis, mental illness, neurological and heart disease combined.

—New York City, June 2, 1955

PROSPERITY

EVERYONE preaches the doctrine of an expanding economy—Republicans and Democrats alike. But there is a difference between words and deeds and what worries me is fresh evidence of the basic philosophical difference between the Republican and Democratic Parties. In the words of an eminent historian and North Carolinian, Gerald Johnson, "In the philosophy of the Democratic Party, government is an art to be practiced, while in the philosophy of the Republican Party, it is a status to be enjoyed. . . ."



The central economic fact of our time is that this economy of ours cannot stand still; it must either grow or fail; and it must grow in all its parts. . . .

There will be two million more Americans a year from now, 15 million more by the end of this decade. To cover the swelling ranks of the unemployed and insure that the workers who will be added to our labor force can find work we must have three million more jobs immediately, and then more and more until by 1960 some seven million new jobs have been added. . . .

It is essential that our people understand and ponder what it will mean for this economy of ours to be on a full production, full consumption, full employment basis.

It will mean, if the best available figures can be meaningful, that by the end of this decade, or by 1960, we will have to be producing and buying from ourselves about one-quarter again as much goods and services as now. Assuming the outbreak of no new wars, a smaller share of total production will go for defense—a larger share will go to individuals as consumers. Even with an increase of 15 million in population, the average standard of living can be 20 percent higher than it is today.

This kind of program will mean, on the other side of capitalism's basic equation, as much increase in our power to buy as in our power to produce. There will have to be a substantial increase in the average annual earnings of employees in manufacturing industries. We will have to think in terms of a marked increase in our basic family income. These, and other movements in the economy, will result in greater capacity to buy the products of expanded industry.

There will be the matter of dividing up the job between ourselves as private investors and ourselves investing in our own future through the agency of government. We want to do nothing through government which can be done privately, but private industry and government together must do whatever is necessary to meet democracy's and free capitalism's essential goal.

Government must shape its policies, too, so as to encourage in every conceivable way this process of private expansion and growth. The one sure-fire incentive for any industry is customers. Any other incentive will be ineffective when there are weakening markets and idle factories. The function of democratic capitalism is not just making things; the system works only as it gets the things it makes into the lives of people who can use them. So my own belief is that in the present situation the emphasis should be on encouraging consumption.

The tariff issue, too, presents the question of whether we are going to recognize or ignore the role of buying

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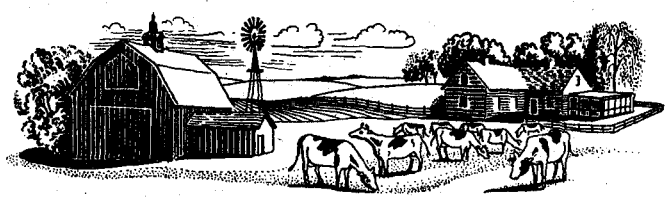
power in a healthy economy. A world wants to buy—to trade for—our production, and it is only a fantasy that in today's world we can maintain one-way barricades on a two-way street.

But taxes and tariffs are in a sense details. The underlying question is whether it is to be the basic policy of this country to use its full resources or only part of them. . . .

America wants an affirmative program—some idealism, if you will—and the inspiration to seek continuous growth even if we sometimes falter in the effort. . . .

—Charlotte, North Carolina, April 2, 1954



FARM INCOME

FARMING is much more than an essential industry; it is a way of life that must be preserved and encouraged. In much of the free world, land reform and tenure by the many instead of the few is a major goal. Let us not go in the opposite direction in the United States and plow under the family farmer.

Our objective for agriculture is equality with the other parts of our economy.

Our yardstick for measuring this equality is parity—a formula for fairness based on relating what a farmer gets for what he sells to what he must pay for what he buys. And 90 percent of what is fair is certainly not unfair or too high. Support by government loans at 90 percent of parity for basic commodities is all the more necessary at the present time when farmers' income is falling and we are moving further away from the goal of equality.

But such price supports do not by themselves constitute a complete farm program. The debate should not be limited to the issue, important as it is, of flexibles against firm price supports. We must face the realities of surpluses and unbalanced production. There is much more to be done to accomplish a farm program which is fair to everyone.

For some commodities, especially perishables, direct production payments, for example, may avoid surplus accumulation and work better than loan and storage arrangements.

And a constructive farm policy must include incentives for the transfer of unneeded grain acreage into conservation uses. It means encouraging a shift to greater livestock and less cereal production, and building up our soil resources for tomorrow's 200 million Americans.

It means using our abundance as an instrument of our foreign policy abroad and a weapon against hunger at home.

It means creating larger markets and more purchasing power for farm products.

It means a new look at the farmers' credit needs.

And it means recognizing our abundance as a passing problem in this growing country, and as a blessing, not a curse. For the problems of abundance are part of the price of America's strength—a strength which it is our obligation to use, to conserve, to improve.

—Des Moines, Iowa, October 21, 1955

TOLERANCE

THE TIMES demand, not mistrust and suspicion and fear, but more mutual respect and . . . understanding than we have ever before had in our history.

This does not mean a suspension of hard and healthy debate, for hard and healthy debate is the essence of democracy. But hard and healthy debate has to do with real problems. It has to do with legitimate differences in policy and program. And I assure you that there is plenty in the realm of valid difference between our two parties to provide material for a dozen hard-fought political campaigns. No one needs to invent issues or to misrepresent them or to falsify them. No one needs to make confusion a policy and corruption a faith.

I say corruption, because this kind of campaign threatens to corrupt the very processes on which the functioning of democratic government depends. To say that one or another American lacks patriotism or favors Communism or wants to subvert our freedom—when his only crime is the crime of disagreement—is to shake our system to the foundations. If we lose our faith in each other, we have lost everything; and no party victory is worth this. Those who seek victory at this price can be rebuked in only one way—that is, at the polls. And this, I think, is the deepest meaning and the greatest opportunity for the American voters.

I would plead with all Americans to cleanse their minds of suspicion and hate; to recognize that men may differ about issues without differing about their faith in America or their belief in freedom; that politics must be a means, not of compounding our weakness, but of consolidating our strength.

—New York Democratic County Committee
Cooper Union, October 30, 1954

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BOOKS & COMMENT

The Mind of Robert Oppenheimer

by Bertrand Russell

THIS collection of eight lectures is interesting from two different points of view. On the one hand, Dr. Oppenheimer is one of the few men who know all about nuclear weapons both from the scientific and from the governmental point of view. This gives weight to everything that he has to say on world affairs. But there is another point of view which has become important owing to the action of the authorities. Since Dr. Oppenheimer was refused security clearance his personality, his character and his outlook have become matters of public interest. I am quite unable to see how any candid person who has read this book and the evidence upon which the adverse verdict was based can fail to be convinced that that verdict was mistaken and resulted (to take the most favorable hypothesis) from a lack of comprehension of a very sensitive character accustomed, as all men of science should be, to the balancing of conflicting hypotheses. A policeman may say: "We do not want men who balance hypotheses. We want men of firm and unshakable convictions on the side of the Right. The open mind, forsooth! Can it be a virtue to have an open mind between right and wrong?" This outlook is common, and in a police force perhaps inevitable, but it is not that of men who are successful in scientific investigation. If the authorities insist upon employing only those whose orthodoxy is more impeccable than that of simpler men in the scientific preparation of nuclear weapons, they will do infinite damage to their country by excluding all men of first-rate scientific ability.

The Open Mind, by J. Robert Oppenheimer (Simon & Schuster; $2.75).

So much by way of generalities. To come to the particular case of Dr. Oppenheimer: Investigation made it undeniable that he has committed mistakes, one of them from a security point of view rather grave. But there was no evidence of disloyalty or of anything that could be considered treasonable. Such errors of judgment as there were resulted from an inability to see things simply, an inability which is not surprising in one possessed of a complex and delicate mental apparatus. He suffers, as all sensitive atomic scientists do, from the unintended horrors which their work has rendered possible. As he says: "In some sort of crude sense which no vulgarity, no humor, no overstatement can quite extinguish, the physicists have known sin; and this is a knowledge which they cannot lose." He speaks of "the deep trouble and moral concern which so many of us who are physicists have felt." I do not see how any humane person engaged in the kind of work which Dr. Oppenheimer was doing could fail to have such feelings. I do not mean to suggest that the work ought not to have been done. The scientists were caught in a tragic dilemma, and even the most conscientious of them might justly feel that no good could come of an individual or unilateral refusal to engage in the researches that governments demanded. But it is not difficult to understand how, in moments when intricate political arguments were forgotten, the sense of sin of which Dr. Oppenheimer speaks would return. It is a shocking thing that policemen, who have no such sense, should be considered morally superior to those who have it.

The development of Dr. Oppenheimer's own opinions is perfectly clear. Like many others of liberal outlook he had when young hopes that it might be possible to co-operate with the Soviet Government. These hopes gradually faded and finally died at the time of the Russian rejection of the Baruch Plan. A propos of this, he says: "Openness, friendliness and co-operation did not seem to be what the Soviet Government most prized on this earth. . . . We came to grips, or began to come to grips, with the massive evidences of Soviet hostility." From these and many other passages it is clear that Dr. Oppenheimer's attitude to Russia had become all that the American authorities could wish.

But he has been aware at an earlier date than the leading statesmen of the world that modern weapons have made a great deal of past military thought completely inapplicable. It is no longer useful to possess more bombs than the enemy if each side possesses enough to inflict total disaster. As Dr. Oppenheimer puts it: "Our twenty-thousandth bomb, useful as it may be in filling the vast munitions pipe-lines of a great war, will not in any deep strategic sense offset their two-thousandth." I think that the Big Four at Geneva understood this situation, but there is still a feeling in many quarters that it is not quite nice to be frank about it.

DR. OPPENHEIMER'S opinions on world affairs are temperately expressed and, to my mind at least, are just and wise. He is quite clear that there is only one ultimate solution for our problem, and that is World Government: "Many have said that without World Government there could be no permanent peace, and without peace there would be atomic warfare. I think one must agree with this." He goes on to say that to outlaw atomic weapons will only be possible if international law can apply to the citizens of nations, and that international control is not compatible with absolute national sovereignty. But he admits, fully and frankly, that there is little hope of international government in any near future. For the near future his hopes are directed mainly towards a diminution of secrecy and suspicion, and an increase of friendly intercourse. But he realizes that it may be a long time before such palliatives bring about any fundamental improvement.

There is an interesting address on the encouragement of science, in which he points out, as many others have done, that it lies within the power of science to abolish poverty everywhere. "Science can provide us," he says, "for the first time in history, with the means of abating hunger for everyone on earth." While urging the importance of preserving peace, he refuses to admit that it has become the one absolute final objective of all political decisions. "There are," he says, "other things in man's life—his freedom, his decency, his sense

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of right and wrong—that cannot so lightly be subjected to a single end." I think the feeling which led him to say this is a right one. Subordination of all other ends to one is the essence of fanaticism and involves a quite undue simplification. But there is something new in our present problem: Freedom and decency and sense of right and wrong will disappear along with all other human values if human life is exterminated. All human values depend upon the continued existence of the human species, and this aim must therefore dominate all others.

In spite of nuclear weapons, Dr. Oppenheimer is a firm believer in the value of science, but he is not certain that science will survive. He says: "It is possible, manifestly, for society so to arrange things that there is no science. The Nazis made a good start in that direction; maybe the Communists will achieve it; and there is not one of us free of the worry that this flourishing tree may someday not be alive any more." I cannot myself believe that science is likely to decay in a world in which scientific war is possible. Unless all civilization collapses nations will continue to value science so long as, without actual war, the danger of war persists. We must hope that if peace became secure science would again be valued as it used to be for better reasons than the ability to inflict larger-scale slaughter.

There is an interesting lecture called "Scientists in Society." Dr. Oppenheimer is struck by the incredible scientific ignorance of historians, statesmen and men of affairs. He poses, without solving, a curious problem of the modern world. The men whose activities have been transforming human life are the men of science, but it is not they who have power in the sense of being able to give orders. Statesmen, captains of industry, generals, bureaucrats, and clerics can determine what shall be done, but the means of doing it are supplied by science, of which these eminent men understand nothing. The scientist is in the position of a Greek slave in Imperial Rome. He knows that he understands a host of important things which are completely unknown to his masters. This gives him a very painful feeling of isolation in the community. Perhaps in time it will become possible to make some of the fundamental ideas of science intelligible in the course of a cultural education and, conversely, to give more cultural background to the thoughts of scientists. The present system under which some men have the power and others have the knowledge is very dangerous. If it could be amended by a lesser degree of specialization in education, the risk of disaster to civilized ways of life might be much lessened. Physicists have learnt to think in quite a new way about many matters as to which most people still unshakably adhere to common sense. Dr. Oppenheimer points out that matter no longer consists of persistent particles and that the whole way of conceiving the physical world is totally different from that of half a century ago. "The science of today," he says, "is subtler, richer, more relevant to man's life and more useful to man's dignity than the science which had such great effect on the Age of Enlightenment. . . . Quantum mechanics represents a more interesting, more instructive, richer analogy of human life than Newtonian mechanics could conceivably be." It is infinitely regrettable that this new universe of revolutionary ideas, which ought to be transforming our everyday thoughts, is as yet so entangled in technicalities that very few can apprehend it, and so bound up with what is most dreadful in our civilization that many men shrink from it in horror. It is not only material benefits that science can bring, but also fundamental new insights and new fields for creative imagination. All this, no doubt, it will achieve in time if peace endures. There is more that is worth preserving than at any earlier time. It is not irrational to hope, though it would be irrational to feel sure, that this great heritage will not be swept away in a moment of madness.

Remembering at Middle-Age

by Leon Edel

THE WRITING of memoirs used to be regarded largely as the privilege of old age, or of generals and politicians seeking to define for themselves their role in history. Youth, after all, had to live first before writing its life; and middle age was too busy capturing the remainder of life to do any writing about it. Only old age had the necessary mixture of nostalgia and memory that could make for the large, profusely-illustrated, reminiscential volume.

The Whispering Gallery, by John Lehmann (Harcourt, Brace; $5).

In our time, however, a group of young Englishmen have taken to writing their memories before they forget them. Perhaps because, in a world that looks down into the canyons of two universal wars, they were old before their time; perhaps because they felt that it was important to convey the power of the living life rather than the spent force of the remembered life. At any rate Cyril Connolly and Stephen Spender, among others, and now John Lehmann, have offered us the first instalments of their testament.

One of the difficulties of writing memoirs in middle life is that it is not easy to speak of the living; this is an advantage enjoyed by the octogenarians who survive their fellows and can speak of them with ease, since the dead are impervious to libel. But the younger rememberers must focus largely on themselves. And what John Lehmann gives us in these carefully-written and honestly-searched pages are the two faces of himself.

One face is all light and sea-air, the English countryside, Eton, poetry, books, places, friends; the other is dark and subterranean, smuggled papers, border crossings, secret compartments, the stuff of spy-dramas, a nightmare world. They represent the two themes of his book. The first is the not uncommon conflict of the editor who would be a poet, the publisher who wonders whether in acting as wet-nurse to the creativity of others he isn't smothering his own in its cradle. The second theme, more general, is the deeply troubling one of the poet whose empathy with the oppressed tends to ally him to social movements; and here he discovers soon enough that such movements are as doctrinaire and oppressive as the Philistine world from which he is trying to escape. Thereafter he has the sense of a betrayal —by his discovery that revolution, un-

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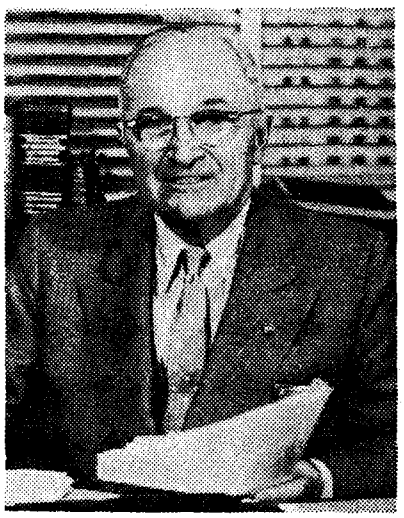
der the overlay of idealism, is always dirty business, and that he has little choice between middle class rigidities of capitalism and the formalized rigidities of Moscow. Under the first, at least, he can write as he pleases in the hope that someone will read him. Under the other, he must become wholly the propagandist or the advertising man.

What Lehmann has not realized, perhaps, is that his two themes are in essence one, both merely the different sides of the same coin. For in neither case could he function as himself, the poet he wished to be. Particularly vivid in these recollections is the picture he draws of his high-tension life in Vienna, which became his city of adoption, and of that really lost generation, more lost than that of the 'twenties, wandering foot-loose in a Europe that was betraying its high hopes. First its members espoused Germany as a victim of Versailles, then the Fascists betrayed them; they turned to the Communists only to encounter, in the end, a further betrayal. These are the heart-breaking (and quite familiar) elements of Lehmann's story. But he makes us understand, because he tells the story honestly and well, and without the ferocity of some who committed themselves and then repented in self-pity and guilt. In these memoirs there is neither repentence nor guilt: only a constant search to understand, to "possess" the past, as Lehmann puts it.

Where his contemporaries are concerned, common courtesy demands reticence, and Lehmann steers his difficult course among his friends with tact and taste. There are vignettes of Spender and we get tantalizing glimpses of Isherwood; but the figure of Virginia Woolf, who was not of his generation, palpably walks in and out of these pages with much vividness, and the portrait of her nephew, Julian Bell, who though uncommitted died the death of a hero in Spain, is perhaps the most engaging.

What shines through these literary-political memories is the clear light of Lehmann's devotion to letters, a devotion which made the successive issues of *New Writing* so attractive and which kept him receptive to literary experimentation, not only in England but in far-away places. The book takes us to the end of the second world war. It is, however, sub-titled "Autobiography I" and this offers us the reasonable guarantee of a II and perhaps even a III. It will be good to have them.

MEMOIRS by Harry S. Truman



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Year of Decisions (Volume I, just published), the former President's own full-length account of his first momentous year in office, is a must for the politically and historically literate.

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The Fight for Legal Equality

by Harold L. Oram

WALTER WHITE summed up the results of his life's work just before he died on March 21, 1955. Published posthumously as *How Far the Promised Land?* this extraordinary book is a measure not only of America's progress in race relations, but also of the stature of the man himself. In a literal sense, almost every step in the betterment of America's race relations in the past two decades bore the imprint of Walter White's mind, his energy, his organizing ability, his courage, and—it is not too much to say—his genius.

How Far the Promised Land? by Walter White (Viking; $3.50).

For more than 30 years Walter White led his people toward the promised land of full equality in our society. He deliberately chose to be colored—his skin was white. His public work began at a time when lynching was an accepted practice in certain sections of our country "to keep the Negro in his place." and when the American Negro in the South possessed no rights a white man was bound to respect. Its great climacteric was reached on "Decision Monday"—May 17, 1954—elsewhere called "Black Monday"—when the Supreme Court of the United States outlawed segregation in the public schools.

Between these milestones Walter White, who had begun as a journalist and novelist, entered in 1918 upon a dangerous apprenticeship investigating lynchings in the South. By 1931 he had earned the leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, succeeding James Weldon Johnson. His leadership was primarily responsible for bringing that great movement to the status today of "the largest, most militant, and most successful of America's civil rights organizations."

Before the historic victory on "Decision Monday," extraordinary advances were achieved in securing for the Negro the right to vote; the right to fight, and perhaps die, along side his *white* brothers in the Armed Forces without suffering the stigma of segregation; the right to a job in accordance with his abilities and training, with equal pay for equal work; the right to own or rent a home of his own at a place of his choosing. In this area, progress is less sure.

Public health measures affecting the Negro were tremendously improved, though not to the point of equivalence with his white fellows. Segregation in public places (Jim Crow) was largely outlawed, and most labor unions were moved to admit Negroes to membership on the basis of full equality. Improvement in the economic situation of the Negro kept pace.

There is one primary lesson to be learned from this record of struggle and achievement. In order to induce masses of people to accept the ultimate physical and economic risk, there must be a great goal to command great sacrifices. The NAACP offered such a goal to the American Negro — nothing less than complete and unqualified equality before the law. In hundreds of skirmishes and in full scale battles, conducted in the context of a democratic society and carried forward largely through legal channels, the NAACP has moved steadily forward toward this great goal.

Meanwhile many well-meaning exponents of "gradualism" have seen one after another advance achieved, despite their best efforts to reduce the pace. Southern liberal writers such as Hodding Carter have a right to plead for "gradualism" in the South, but it is surely heedless to claim that the changes in Southern attitudes are "due wholly to some miraculous public opinion" brought on by sacrificial struggle.

In these latter years, American society entered extremely dangerous waters, as Mr. White knew. The injustices suffered by the American Negro community now attract not only national concern but have become a subject of worldwide debate. Three quarters of the world's people are colored. These peoples are the great stakes in the worldwide battle between freedom and slavery; if these people were unitedly to choose one side, the scales might be tilted past the point of no return.

In the early postwar years, Walter White was one of the first to see this truth. During the decade prior to his death, he spent the major part of his energies in raising the alarm. In those last years he saw clearly that the situation of the Negro in America, its evolution for the better, was probably a decisive factor in this great game of democratic survival. Understanding this, he overtaxed his strength in seeking to bring this conviction and understanding to his countrymen.

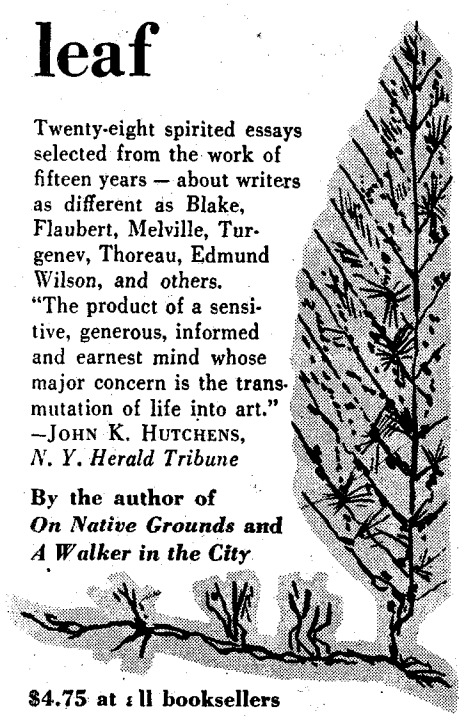
It is reckoned ordinarily that decades must elapse before one is able to judge the impact of a man's work on his times. We need not wait to judge Walter White's Promethean contribution. Writer and doer, man of thought and of action, in love with life and a stranger to hate, his impact upon America is clear. En route to the promised land he carried not only his people with him, he carried every American—those who loved his work as well as those who hated it.

Notes on Contributors

BERTRAND RUSSELL received the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1950. LEON EDEL is completing the second volume of his biography of Henry James. HAROLD L. ORAM is a New York businessman. GEOFFREY WAGNER is a novelist and critic.

alfred kazin

the inmost leaf



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Novelty and Development in Painting

by Geoffrey Wagner

MUSEUM directors and those who assemble contemporary exhibitions today seem to discover the majority of young artists indulging in a more and more extreme abstraction. In all honesty they conclude that this is the trend of our times and so seek to represent it. The young, in turn, aware of the big exhibitions, of the museum purchases, and so forth, move ever further away from the human form. In short, many of them are pathologically stimulated by the pundits who, in fact, largely sustain themselves on novelty today.

Wyndham Lewis is by no means the first to argue this (though he did so in this journal in 1940); Lincoln Kirstein also observed this vicious circle in a caustic article in *Harper's* some years ago. But Lewis has now come forward with a characteristically bellicose pamphlet that strides through the whole issue with an air of superb authority. *The Demon of Progress in the Arts* will vex many, but it should be read by all interested in contemporary painting, for in its main thesis (that the rapid turnover of industrial trends is being duplicated in the arts) it comes to grips with problems at the heart of our culture. When for the contemporary we can substitute the extreme, Lewis says, we are essentially regarding man as analogue of the machine. "Wherever machines are being manufactured," he writes, "there is the atmosphere of a breathless race, where up-to-dateness is a matter of unremitting urgency." It is hard to deny that this is the spirit in which the big contemporary shows are being assembled in this country today when we read Mr. Gordon Washburn replying to criticism of his current Pittsburgh Carnegie International, in words that show him regarding art as existing to be superseded—"Styles in art keep changing just as they do in architecture, wallpaper and automobiles." This literally echoes Lewis' charge.

Innovation, Lewis maintains, is substituting surface spontaneity (or "gimmicks") for the real freshness of inner vision. He says much more and he could have pushed his whole case against current extremism even further—the impermanence of so-called "action" painting would have assisted his argument—but, as it is, he has left us with a squib bristling with *aperçus* that make us seriously question what we see in some contemporary galleries.

The Demon of Progress in the Arts, by D. B. Wyndham Lewis (Regnery; $3).

The Eye of Man, by Selden Rodman (Devin-Adair; $10).

SELDEN RODMAN'S new book approaches roughly the same problem as Lewis'—"that in our present passion for the abstract we tend to forget that the very greatest art has been concerned with man and his relation to other men and to God," as he puts it—but it does so in a totally different spirit. While Lewis insists on imposing his own individuality on the scene before us, Rodman is trying sincerely to understand the direction of art today.

As a result he is a model interpreter; his book on Shahn was a modest combination of non-contentious criticism and affectionate exposition, and some fascinating sections of *The Eye of Man* introduce us in depth to Rico LeBrun, one of the most brilliant draughtsmen in this country today. Indeed, the contemporary reference in which Rodman's consideration of the art of the past is framed proves to be the most challenging part of this handsomely produced volume. Matisse, for instance, is beautifully placed (or displaced), and there are some good passages on the Mexican masters. But there are judgments of past art that seem facile, rather than controversial. All is weighed on the grocer's scale of "expressive content"; poor "pessimistic" Bosch comes off badly here against Gruenewald, although it is silly to compare the two in this way, while the inconsequential Haitian painters, as one might expect from this author, are not "bemused by the burden of 'art' " and are treated with the maximum of generosity.

There is not the smallest measure of impartiality in Wyndham Lewis' very sure point of view, but he knows a great deal about the making of a painting. Rodman's catholicity of taste, on the other hand, sends one away from his thesis curiously uncertain. Yet these are two important books which frequently come close: as when, for instance, Lewis alleges that the extremist painter "is probably least free when most eccentric," and Rodman writes, "The more an artist strives for originality the less original he becomes." Both clearly feel, with a recent writer in *Partisan Review:*

> This youngest generation stands mute and empty-handed in a cultural situation they cannot see into—principally because they have been led to believe that to be "modern" is to be endlessly experimental. . . . The young, with the sound of guns just over the horizon, are hungry for the life and variety which have been squeezed out of formal art; and are tired of stripping nature down to its "structural values"; but they are at once too shy and too enervated to be able to approach "from the heart." They cling, therefore, to "the modern," with all its outworn fetishes.

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THEATRE

TO MY MIND, Chekhov's supreme achievement is *Three Sisters,* but the fact that *Cherry Orchard* is more famous indicates that it has made easier contact with the public, which takes from an author what it craves and leaves the rest alone. What we call "the influence of an author" is likely to be the influence of one famous fragment of him. Chekhov survives in journalistic criticism as the founder of a type of drama in which "nothing happens" and little people drift in and out remarking that their lives are empty, a drama in which plot has been replaced by mood, and chiefly a mood of nostalgia and defeat. Now, though I wouldn't say that this notion of Chekhov derives from an adequate reading of *Cherry Orchard,* I would say that it derives from not reading his other works, and that *Cherry Orchard* provokes, if it doesn't quite justify, such a notion. When Chekhov composed it, he not only wrote about dying, he *was* dying, and neither his emotions nor his imagination, as it seems to me, retained their full force. His intellect he has preserved intact, and he is consequently able to carry his special dramaturgy to its furthest reach. The delicacy of his sensibility is unimpaired, and that marvelous sense of fun which was, so to speak, his sword in the struggle for existence is all the more gallantly employed as death approaches. Obviously, then, *Cherry Orchard* is a masterpiece, but, lacking the fullness of *Three Sisters,* it is a masterpiece more in the mode of Chekhovism as popularly understood—a Chekhovism of nuance and innuendo, muted lyricism, gentle pathos and gentler humor. The success of a performance of *Cherry Orchard* will depend upon an accurate subtlety.

Cherry Orchard by Chekhov. Translated by Stark Young (4th St. Theatre).

Because the production at the 4th Street is both inaccurate and unsubtle, I adjudge it, in the main, a calamity. It has its points, of course. The whole text is there in another of Stark Young's trenchant translations (this one not so markedly different from other versions of the play.) And the technical standard of the show is higher than one is used to off Broadway; the axe sounds like an axe, etc. There are several good individual performances, of which the best is the most unobtrusive—Gerald Hiken as Trofimov. Mr. Hiken imposes himself upon an audience by an intensity born of concentration and an intelligence that has shown him the character as Chekhov wrote it, no more, no less. Nancy Wickwire was, so to speak, groomed to give the best performance in the show as Varya, though sometimes the grooming is more evident than the performance. She not only acts; she acts up. But the fact that Varya comes to seem the main part is a tribute to her power. (In nothing, by the way, is the greatness of Chekhov's dramaturgy more manifest than in the fact that *any* part becomes luminous and prominent by being well performed.)

If self-assertion is a slight blemish on the otherwise smooth surface of Miss Wickwire's portrait, it completely disfigures the Yasha of Leonardo Cimino. Here is a gifted young actor (and I have seen him in several roles) who seems unable simply to make his statement and is constrained to underscore, capitalize, italicize, and overpunctuate (using especially the exclamation mark), till his MS is unreadable. He pulls faces. He strikes attitudes. And, if anyone adds: "So does Yasha," I reply that Mr. Cimino has not convinced me of the fact.

And where are the two leading characters in the play? *Cherry Orchard* may, in itself, be small by comparison with *Three Sisters;* at the 4th Street, it is smaller still, being deprived of its two strongest presences: Mme. Ranevsky and Lopakin. Strong, in a moral sense, Mme. Ranevsky is not—rather, a classical study, à la Turgenev, of elegant, feminine, "romantic" weakness, a weakness that falls before the strength of the self-made man, Lopakin. She is the cherry blossom, and he the axe. Lopakin, it is true, is not the villain of a Marxist melodrama; his author was at pains to stress his humanity. Did this emphasis mislead George Ebeling, at the 4th Street, into forgetting the role's original premise and its part in the story? This Lopakin brings on stage at the outset all the warmth of a Methodist minister at a mothers' meeting; naturally, by the time he goes so far as to take over the orchard, he is shocked at his own audacity and suffering from heartbreak. Heartbreak! How many heartwhole characters in the older drama are being interpreted by our actors as heartbroken! The age of anxiety is the age of self-pity. Now David Ross, the director of the play, had intimated in the press that he was going to disencumber Chekhov of all the accumulated lies and evasions of two generations of "Chekhovism." This was very misleading of him, for there is a portentous air about the show, and a complete lack of simplicity. For example when Mme. Ranevsky makes big claims for the orchard, Lopakin retorts: "The only remarkable thing about this orchard is that it's big." Such a retort is shockingly reductive, and nothing if not prosaic. (It reminds me of Hemingway's remark that the only difference between rich and poor is that the rich are richer.) Yet, at the 4th Street, they try to make something wistful, inspiring, and "poetic" out of it. And if Mr. Ebeling reaches out towards a romance that is not there, Elizabeth Farrar fails to take hold of one that is. Certainly, Mme. Ranevsky is a failure but as what? As a mistress in a villa in Mentone—that is, in a role with considerable social and, in a sense, spiritual pretension. When she pours scorn on Trofimov for having reached 26 without taking a mistress, we hear an echo of the pride she must once have felt in her femininity. . . . But why run on when none of this has been presented on stage?

I enjoyed *Three Sisters* last year at this same theatre. At a second visit, one enjoys Mr. Ross' use of his cramped central stage a good deal less. One becomes too aware of unnatural, unreal positions, moves, and groupings. One comes to feel that, after all, Chekhov requires something like a real room for dramas in which walls and furniture plays so significant a part. Then again, a strong wind of emotion blows through even a rough-and-ready performance of *Three Sisters,* as through a Beethoven sonata played by a capable amateur. *Cherry Orchard,* it seems to me, is like some exquisite and exact bit of tone-painting by Debussy that makes no impression at all unless it receives from the performer an equal exquisiteness and exactitude.

ERIC BENTLEY

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CORRESPONDENCE

► A Cold Wind in Minnesota

SIRS:

It sounds strange from the pen of a loyal *NR* reader, but I deplore the dishonest journalism employed in the article "A Cold Afternoon with the Minnesota Farmers" (*NR*, Nov. 7). While speaking literal truths, you give an an entirely false impression. I.E. "The Cadillac drove past (the weather beaten men) to . . . a poorly painted cow barn." You speak of "shy farm wives bundled up in shawls," trying to conjure up an image of old country peasantry.

Actually Robert and Kerney Henry are the type of farmer every Conservation agent hopes to find in his territory. Mrs. Robert Henry is not a "shy, shawled, huddled farm wife." She is a former Home agent and at present a fine Home Economics teacher in the Foley High School and a very gracious hostess. Somehow they had the impression that these agents wanted to see the barn and the stock. Who ever heard of a Journalist being received in a leather jacket. (I'm quite sure neither Mr. Stevenson nor Mr. Freeman were affronted by the singular sight of farmers in sports coat and leather jacket.)

Ignorantly or carelessly (I hope not purposely) you create the impression that because the Messrs. Henry do not like rigid price supports, their cows are unmannerly, their muck is muckier and the wind blows colder on their womenfolk. . . .

Have a care when you write a "grass-roots" article, lest you render all your editorials suspect.

BEATRICE L. PAULSON

Foley, Minnesota

EDITOR'S NOTE:

Mrs. Paulson's letter is welcome, but it refutes no point in our report.

It was cold in Foley that day. The muck was mucky. The barn did need a coat of paint. (And any Democrat will provide the reason.) The farm wives were shy, and shawled. The Henry brothers were dressed in a sports coat and a leather jacket (and what's wrong with that?) As for the cows, they respected neither journalists nor farmers and did what cows generally do. The notion that all this reflects upon Mrs. Henry's ability to teach Home Economics, or her husband's views on rigid price supports is Mrs. Paulson's, not ours.

If there was irony in our piece it was directed, not at the Henrys, but at the idea that a political party can get appreciably nearer the truth about farm problems and programs in the course of a 20 minute visit. If the misunderstanding is our fault—then we apologize.

M.S.

Ethics and Education

SIRS:

Gordon K. Chalmers' review of Arthur Bestor's *The Restoration of Learning* (*NR*, October 10) leaves unanswered two crucial questions which it immediately suggests:

1. What are some specific "ethical realities evident in 1955, realities about liberty and order at home and abroad and our religious and moral understanding of ourselves" which might be forged into principles by which to evaluate the products of scholarly research?

2. Who is there who is at once acceptable to the various interests who mold our educational system, and sufficiently disinterested to originate and implement a "public policy" which can rationally "pick and choose among the fruits of scholarship"?

That Dr. Chalmers felt led to differ with Dr. Bestor's approach would seem to indicate a disparity of viewpoints concerning fundamental educational principles. It appears reasonable to assume that there might be at least equal disparity of viewpoints among educators—or among any group of thoughtful men in a democratic society—as to what the "ethical realities" may be by which the content of teacher-education curricula or of lower school curricula can be determined.

WAYNE C. WILLIAMS

Chapel Hill, North Carolina

BANDWAGON

THE Mexican Government, in the midst of a theatrical censorship drive, has banned the production here of Tennessee Williams' play *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*.

Mr. Williams' play, translated into Spanish, was to have inaugurated in two weeks the city's newest and most luxurious theatre, "Teatro Moderno."

The play was banned by Adolfo Fernandez Bustamente, Director of the Federal District's Department of Spectacles. He said . . . that the language was offensive in Spanish.

The present drive on theatrical productions began two weeks ago under pressure by the League of Decency.—*New York Times*, October 26, 1955

LAST WEEK House Minority Leader Joseph W. Martin said:

I hope Mr. Eisenhower will run. I have every confidence that he will make the decision in favor of the country and the world if he feels he is able to do it. . . . He would need to do very little campaigning—make three or four radio and television speeches and that's it. . . . I can see how it would be less strain in the White House than it would be on the farm at Gettysburg.—*New York Times*, November 3, 1955

A QUARTERLY magazine for commuters will begin publication on November 1. Plans for the magazine, to be called *The Commuter*, were announced yesterday by Robert F. Baker, publisher, and William H. Baldwin, Jr., editor. They are seatmates on the New Haven's 6:05 P.M. train for New Canaan, Conn. The cofounders of the magazine will say in their first editorial that the objective is "to promote commuting as a way of life."—*New York Times*, October 26, 1955

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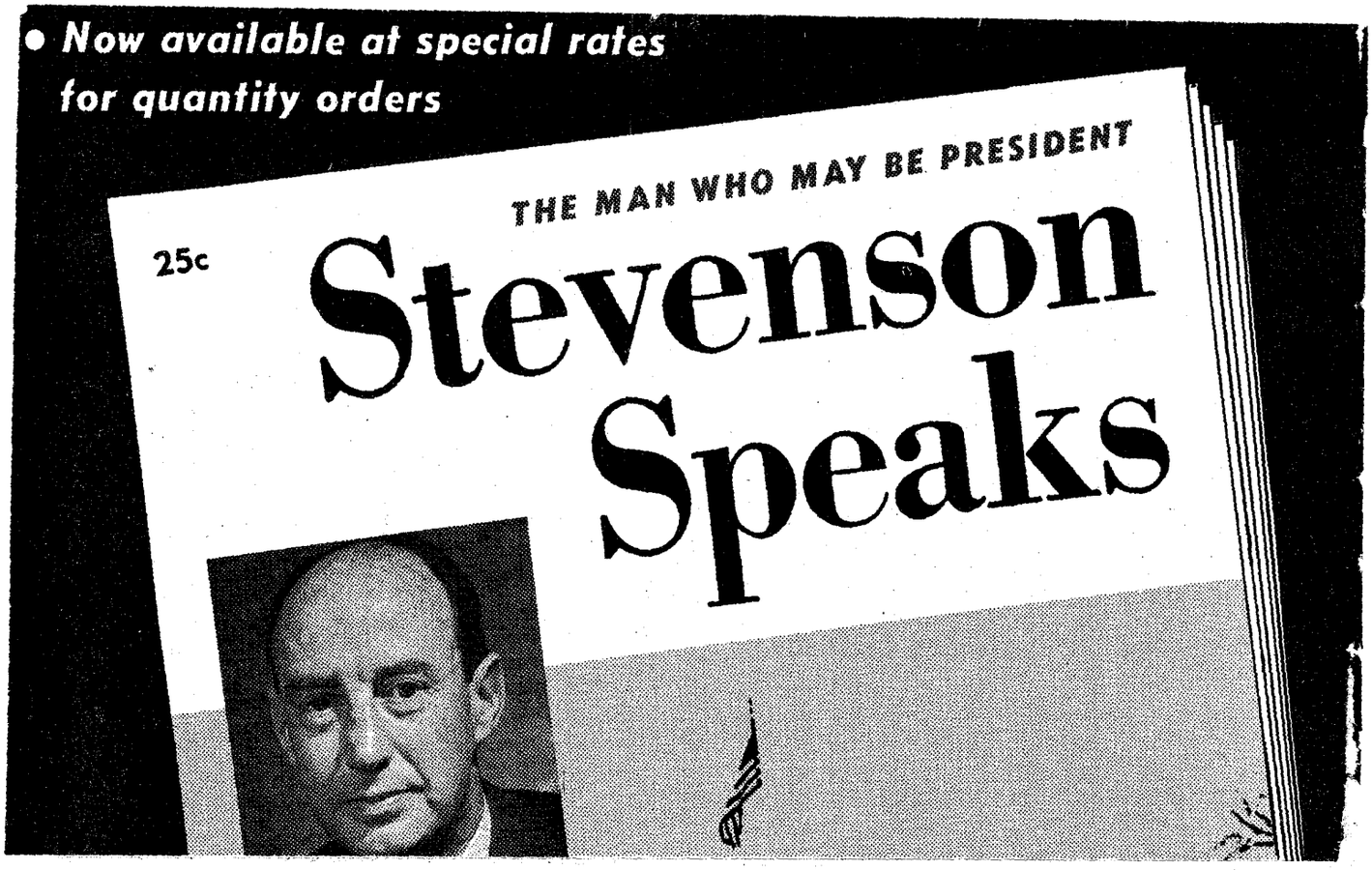

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